



MR. GLADSTONE'S
EXPOSTULATION UNRAVELLED.

BY
BISHOP ULLATHORNE.



NEW YORK:
THE CATHOLIC PUBLICATION SOCIETY,
No. 9 WARREN STREET.
—
1875.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
I.—The Sources of Mr. Gladstone's Inspiration,	6
II.—Mr. Gladstone's Object and Motives,	16
III.—Mr. Gladstone's Misconceptions,	37
IV.—Mr. Gladstone's 'Infallibility' and the Pope's Infallibility,	44
V.—Mr. Gladstone's 'Obedience' and the Church's Obedience,	66
VI.—Mr. Gladstone's 'Syllabus' and the Pope's Syl- labus,	75
VII.—An Apostrophe to Mr. Gladstone,	87

Mr. Gladstone's Expostulation Unrabelled.

MR. GLADSTONE'S pamphlet, *The Vatican Decrees in their bearing on Civil Allegiance*, is in everybody's hands, and for long to come Catholics will be asked, 'What have you got to say to Mr. Gladstone?' Many replies have been written; more than the intrinsic value of the production deserved. The character of the book is peculiar in its style, a style so different from the man when he writes with clear and certain knowledge of his subject. Place it by the side of his Homeric books, or his Financial Statements, and it will be at once understood what I mean. To read it is like looking into a landscape where shifting clouds and fogs leave us scarcely a definite object in sight by which to tell us where in the world we are. Broad assertions are made, then contracted in their compass, then expanded anew into yet broader and stronger affirmations; and when we come to the end of them, we are irresistibly driven to ask, What does Mr. Gladstone precisely mean, and where are his proofs? Hence the conclusion is forced upon us, that this cannot be Mr. Gladstone after all; he must be swayed by prompters on more than one side of him, who throw his mind into confusion. Before, then, we come to the singular style of his Expostulation, let us consider :

I. THE SOURCES OF MR. GLADSTONE'S INSPIRATION.

The mixed universities forced upon their Catholic subjects by the policy of the German Governments have long been a source of troubles to the Church, and one remote result of these troubles has been to disturb the otherwise clear mind of the ex-Prime Minister. In those universities the chairs of Catholic philosophy and theology were placed under one roof with the chairs of professors who, in the name of philosophy, often sapped the foundations of reason; and, in the name of theology, not unfrequently denied the divinity of Christ, the authority of revelation, or even the nature of God. It is impossible for such opposite schools of thought and doctrine to consort together without some of the Catholic professors and pupils contracting a taint from their unbelieving associates. For the doctrines of schools are not confined to lecture-rooms, and pupils themselves become professors in their season. If, through the force of faith and piety, very many Catholics escaped from the contagion, others less faithful contracted a laxity of principle that led them, as professors or teachers, to devise erroneous theories affecting the foundations of reason, the constitution of the Church, certain doctrines bearing on faith, or the relations of the Church with civil society.

By persistence in such teaching they drew disciples after them. Not seldom the admonitions of their Bishops proved in vain, and consequently their errors were denounced to the Holy See. Then followed examinations, decrees of the Sacred Congregations, and apostolic letters or encyclics from the Pontiffs. Let it

suffice to give the names of Gunther, Froschammer, and the unauthorised assembly of divines in Munich of September 1863, which foreshadowed the heretical sect of the Döllingerites. Whilst some of these teachers bowed to correction, others fell back upon the disingenuous tactics of the Jansenists, either to evade the supreme authority or to question it. Irritated against the Holy See for the checks put on their uncatholic teaching, the professors fell back upon the ancestors of their unquiet spirit. They invoked the expiring Gallicanism which the court lawyers and theologians had framed for the use of the Kings of France. They had ancestors in Richard of the Sorbonne, in Drontheim of Treves, better known as Febronius, in Eybel of Vienna, in the Council of Ems and the Synod of Pistoia; all indeed condemned by Rome and reprobated by the Church, but all serviceable to men prepared to withdraw themselves from the decisions of the Apostolic Chair. Whatever else they might allow, the infallibility of the authority that condemned them they would not agree to.

The unsound taint was brought to England by certain young laymen, pupils of Dr. Döllinger or others associated with him, and exhibited itself in the later numbers of the *Rambler*, after it passed into their hands, in the *Home and Foreign Review*, the *North British Review*, and the *Chronicle*. But the Catholics of this country repelled the poison, and these publications dropped rapidly one after another into their grave.

To go back a moment, other errors had arisen in France, chiefly from the pen of the unhappy De la Mennais, errors subversive of the foundations both of

Church and State. Although condemned by Rome at the instance of the French Bishops, and although his distinguished followers left him to stand alone in his resistance, yet other errors, milder but dangerous, sprang up as remnants of his teaching at a later period. In reaction against these errors there arose another class of unsound doctrines that touched upon the relations of reason with faith, whilst there was another class to contend against in which was advocated either Rationalism, or some sort of Pantheism.

Not only had the Popes of recent times to strive against these various errors infecting even members of the Church, but they had likewise to contend against a number of political assaults upon the rights and immunities of the Church that for many ages she had held in undisputed possession. From the time that Napoleon I. had foisted his Organic Articles into the Concordat concluded between him and the Pope, there had been successive violations of conventions with the Holy See on the part of various governments, and those of the most unjustifiable character. Civil marriages were forced upon Catholic populations; ungodly systems of education were forced upon them against their will; Bishops were imprisoned for maintaining the principles of their religion and the rights of their sees; the Catholics of Russia and of the Polish kingdom were ruthlessly dealt with, especially under the Emperor Nicholas, their Bishops exiled to Siberia, and everything that the stiff politico-religious bigotry of the Greek schism could devise, was put in force to undermine and destroy the Catholic faith in those regions.

The ecclesiastical revenues of Spain were seized by

the revolution under Espartero, its monasteries suppressed, and their quiet inhabitants dispersed to starve or die. How the Papal States were seized upon, the Pope dispossessed, the Church denuded, the religious institutions destroyed, and everything devoted to God confiscated, and that mainly for the benefit of adventurers who have plundered the whole of beautiful Italy, no one knows better than Mr. Gladstone. But it must be kept in mind that every one of these acts was defended by the speech and pens of men who, to exhibit some shadow of reason for their perpetration, invoked the names of liberty, modern civilisation, and progress.

All the errors above intimated,—whether anti-rational or rationalistic, whether anti-Christian or pantheistic, whether subversive of the Church or of civil society—for the secret societies, the revolutionists, and the communists were undermining states and destroying thrones—whether opposed to Christian marriage or to Christian education,—whether subversive of the rights of conscience or of established Christianity,—all these it became the sacred and solemn duty of the Popes to expose, denounce, and mark with their censure as anti-Christian errors. Not only had these numerous errors and irreligious acts to be noted and denounced in defence of religion and for the instruction of all Catholics, but likewise the false pleas and the deceptive language by which, under the pretence of freedom, civilization, and progress, these monstrous assaults upon truth, upon morality, upon religion, upon civil order, upon established rights and possessions, were in speech and innumerable writings defended. Against a combination of adversaries and adverse cir-

cumstances such as history gives no example of, and with a magnanimity and fortitude worthy the noble line of Pontiffs, this was done; and the allocutions, apostolic letters, and encyclicals in which this was done, and which range from the reign of Pius VI. to that of Pius IX., but chiefly of Pius IX., from the nature of the case, are not aggressive, but defensive. Each one of these documents is addressed either to the Cardinals or to the Bishops upon the errors or events that had arisen at the period of its publication; and from the text of these documents the now famous Syllabus was extracted.

It is important to observe that the Syllabus was published on the 8th of December 1864, exactly five years before the Vatican Council commenced, and that in July 1867 the Bishops assembled in Rome, to the amount of two hundred and sixty-five, for celebrating the canonisation of the Japanese Martyrs, presented a joint address to his Holiness, to which most of the Catholic Bishops of the world sent their adhesion, in which they solemnly accepted the doctrines of the Pontiff in the following terms: 'We have come free to the free Pontiff King, with equal good-will, devoted as pastors to the interests of the Church, and as citizens to the interests of our several countries. . . . That impiety may not pretend to ignore this, or dare to deny it, we Bishops condemn the errors that you have condemned, and reject and detest the new and strange doctrines that are everywhere propagated to the injury of the Church of Jesus Christ; we reprobate and condemn the sacrileges, rapines, violations of ecclesiastical immunity, and other crimes committed against the

Church and the See of Peter. This protestation, which we ask to be inscribed in the records of the Church, we likewise confidently proffer in the name of our absent brethren, whether detained at home by force, where to-day they weep and pray, or whether by reason of urgent affairs or sickness they cannot to-day be present with us.'

Two years and a half, therefore, before the Council of the Vatican assembled, the Bishops had given their spontaneous adhesion to the doctrines of the Syllabus, and to the Papal documents from which they were extracted. This is a proof added to hundreds given us in history that the Popes do not pronounce on the doctrines or affairs of the Universal Church except in the sense of the Universal Church. This chain of facts should be kept in mind by every one who would form a right appreciation of Mr. Gladstone's Expostulation. Another fact to be kept in mind is this, that the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception was not defined in 1854, until petitions for it had been long pouring into Rome from every part of the Church, until every Bishop of the Church had been called upon to give the tradition of his See, the sense of his clergy and people, and his own view of the subject, and until the whole tradition of the Church from the Apostles had been investigated. The schismatic Greeks raised a complaint that the Pope should now first proclaim a doctrine that the East had always believed in. So far was this definition from being 'the deadly blow of 1854,' to use Mr. Gladstone's words, 'at the old historic, scientific, and moderate school.' * What 'bearing on civil allegiance'

this definition can have, it would be very difficult to say.

To return back on this narrative to the unsound German professors and their disciples; no sooner did the Pope convoke the General Council than they took alarm. Whatever good was hoped from it by all stanch Catholics, who received its announcement with joy, these lax professors felt that it boded no good to their designs. When the Pope invited the Bishops to send theologians and canonists to Rome, inviting some men distinguished for learning and prudence from various parts of the world himself, that they might give their assistance in preparing drafts of decrees for the coming Council, it is a well-known fact that certain men of this party, one especially whom we need not here name, were bitterly disappointed at their being overlooked.

In the month of March 1869, nine months before the Council met, the party of whom I speak opened fire upon the coming Council in the *Augsburg Gazette*. They proclaimed to the world that it was the work of the Jesuits; that the Syllabus was to be made a dogmatic decree; that the Infallibility was to be carried by a trick, a surprise, a sudden call for its acclamation by the Fathers; that the rights of the Catholic civil powers in the Council were to be set aside—the fact being that the Catholic powers declared it to be their intention to watch the proceedings, but to abstain from interfering. It was proclaimed in a voice from Styria that ‘the efforts of the Council were declaring war against civilization;’ and the organ of the party especially devoted itself to the protection of State

interests.* They thus anticipated Mr. Gladstone by four years and a half, and proved him to be a tardy copyist. These and other points of like character were urged from day to day upon the world in every form of vituperation and sarcasm, and with every 'rusty weapon' that the enemies of the Holy See of whatever age could furnish forth. All this professed to come 'from a Catholic point of view,' the one profession in which they differ from their great disciple of the Anglican establishment. Every one of these predictions proved false in the result; yet thus was it that the professors threw their flaming torch upon the anti-Catholic world, and kindled a universal conflagration. Pamphlets followed this stream of fiery articles. A little knot of surviving Gallicans were hard at work in Paris. The Protestant world was keenly alive, of course, and the infidel and the atheistic world, and all their literary organs. Their cry they took with their arguments from the German professors, and this cry was: The civil power and society are in danger from the Council of the Vatican, and the Infallibility is intended to crush the liberties of mankind.

Prince Hohenlohe, it is now admitted, was tutored by Dr. Döllinger before he sent his diplomatic circular to the courts of Europe, to invoke their repression of an evil so threatening. Count von Arnim, the Prussian Ambassador at Rome, was sent by Prince Hohenlohe later on to the same diplomatic teacher. The Emperor of the French promised that the Council should not be disturbed whilst sitting, but he likewise was put in motion against the definition; and a newspaper was

* See Dr. Hergenrother's *Anti-Janus*, chap. i.

published under government auspices in Paris, which, though in milder terms than the *Augsburg Gazette*, had a good deal of its inspiration. It was daily sent to such Bishops of the Council as might be supposed to be open to its influence; but I never could understand why it was sent to me. Mr. Gladstone was Prime Minister of England, and he had his representative at Rome. During the period of the Council three hundred despatches were sent home. This I know authentically. Were they all the work of his ostensible representative, or were there other agents at work who were nearer the Church, and more intimate with the *Augsburg Gazette*? This has always been suspected. It is certain, however, that the then Prime Minister caught some of the infection that foreign statesmen had imbibed from the German professors, when he gave the hint of retaliation upon the Church for intruding into the civil sphere. Doubtless the notion of turning the Syllabus into dogma, and the Infallibility into an instrument against the civil power, had been already made to loom before his mind. Such a notion was, nevertheless, the pure result of heated imagination, and, as we shall hereafter show, never had the slightest ground in fact.

Who would not have assumed that these impressions had been effaced through better knowledge gained later on? In the interval between the Council and Mr. Gladstone's article in the *Contemporary Review*, that statesman had been a most generous friend to his Catholic fellow-countrymen. He had protected our principles against strong opposition in the Elementary Education Act; he had repealed the Ecclesiastical Titles Act, an immense boon to us; he had freed Catholic

Ireland from the incumbrance of a State Church not in harmony with the religion of the people ; he had even intended well in his Irish University scheme, except that he was unable to realise the depth and tenacity with which Catholics hold to their principles, or to understand what experience of the evil of mixed universities we had already before us on the Continent. How sad it is that, by an outrage as unprovoked as it was unexpected, Mr. Gladstone should put our gratitude to a strain so intense !

The prejudice inflicted on Mr. Gladstone's mind during the Council had seemed to sleep, till his vindication of Ritualism woke it up again. His fierce attack upon the Catholics, and especially upon the converts, in the *Contemporary Review*, led to private expostulations from convert friends. Was it possible for Catholics to be silent under his imputations ? This seems to have surprised him, and to have stung his sensitive mind. He resolved to expostulate in his turn, and to hit a fierce blow at men who dared to think he could be wrong. The newspapers told us of his visit to Dr. Döllinger before his Expostulation appeared, and of his visit to Dr. Döllinger's principal English pupil immediately after it came out. The points raised in that production are the points raised by the Döllingerites before the Council commenced and during its sitting, when yet these men hung loosely on the Church, and they have been forced forward with still greater vehemence by them since they became an excommunicated sect.

We have next to examine Mr. Gladstone's own statement of his motives.

II. MR. GLADSTONE'S OBJECT AND MOTIVES.

NEAR the close of last session of Parliament, when the Public Worship Bill was before the House, Mr. Gladstone proposed a series of resolutions protective of the Ritualists that dropped dead on the instant. He subsequently relieved his mind in the well-known article defensive of Ritualism in the *Contemporary Review*. But there was one point which the accomplished political fencer had especially to guard, and that was the popular impression that Ritualism leads to the Catholic Church. Nor could Mr. Gladstone forget that he had himself been repeatedly and publicly charged with being a Catholic. Since Lord John Russell's Durham Letter it had become a habit in England to scourge the Ritualists on the backs of the Catholics; so this unfair and dishonorable cruelty was no innovation, but a good Protestant tradition with a ritual of its own—that the Catholics be striped for the crimes of the Ritualists.

Mr. Gladstone struck out with his unjust blows in the following terms:

‘But there is a question which it is the special purpose of this paper to suggest for consideration by my fellow-Christians generally, which is more practical and of greater importance, as it seems to me, and has far stronger claims on the attention of the nation and of the rulers of the Church than the question whether a handful of the clergy are or are not engaged in an utterly hopeless and visionary effort to Romanise the Church and people of England. At no time since the bloody reign of Mary has such a scheme been possible.

But if it had been possible in the seventeenth or eighteenth centuries, it would still have become impossible in the nineteenth ; when Rome has substituted for the proud boast of *semper eadem* a policy of violence and change of faith ; when she has refurbished and paraded anew every rusty tool she was fondly thought to have disused ; when no one can become her convert without renouncing his moral and mental freedom, and placing his civil loyalty and duty at the mercy of another ; and when she has equally repudiated modern thought and ancient history, I cannot persuade myself to feel alarm as to the final issue of her crusades in England, and this although I do not undervalue her great powers of mischief.*

In his Expostulation Mr. Gladstone confesses to the seeming roughness of some of these expressions, and tells us that had he been addressing his Catholic fellow-countrymen he 'would have striven to avoid them.'† After this questionable apology, he does not hesitate at once to address them to his Catholic fellow-countrymen, and sets about defending them. To our great astonishment, he even declares that his assertions 'are not aggressive, but defensive.'‡ It is an old saying that history repeats itself. The Durham Letter of 1849 was not aggressive, but defensive ; the Titles Act was not aggressive, but defensive ; Prince Bismarck's ruthless persecution of the Church is not aggressive, but defensive ; whenever any unprovoked attack is made upon the Catholics, it is not aggressive, but defensive. In their original context in the *Contem-*

* *Contemporary Review*, October 1874, pp. 673-4.

† Page 6.

‡ Page 7.

porary Review, these offensive terms were simply offered as a comfort to the Anglican Establishment; as consolation to her for the loss of the able men whom the Catholic Church has gained, or is gaining, from her; as an assurance to her that conversions were drawing to an end; and as an intimidation to us, lest that assurance might not prove true.

To the converts themselves, men as well educated and capable of forming a judgment as himself, some of them his old and intimate friends from youth onwards, Mr. Gladstone could not have addressed a more offensive or a less effective insult than, in this sort of stage-side voice, to tell the world at large, then to half apologise for it, and next to tell the converts themselves outright, that they have renounced their 'mental and moral freedom,' that they 'have placed their civil loyalty and duty at the mercy of another,' and that they have done this after their Church has 'equally repudiated modern thought and ancient history.' Mr. Gladstone has read the writings of the more distinguished converts, and must therefore know that they are far from thinking what he asserts of them. But these things he does not know; he knows not the mind of the converts, nor the mind of the Catholic Church, nor does he seem to have ever deeply reflected on the nature and scope of mental and moral freedom. To these subjects we shall return in due time.

More than one convert, friends of Mr. Gladstone, he tells us, have expostulated with him on the passage in the *Contemporary Review*. Whereupon he lays down a doctrine as surprising in the mouth of a Christian as it is singular in its mode of statement. First he tells us

Gladstone's Expostulation Unravell'd.

that 'neither the abettors of the Papal Chair, nor any one who, however far from being an abettor of the Papal Chair, actually writes from a Papal point of view, has a right to remonstrate with the world at large.' What does this mean? Is it meant to say that men write from the Pope's point of view who do not take the Pope's point of view? Are men Catholics and non-Catholics at one and the same time? Are they outwardly Catholics and inwardly Protestants? We know of no such men. Half a dozen men of an opposite stamp we know, and Mr. Gladstone knows them, men who profess to be Catholics, whilst they attack the Catholic faith, and do their best to degrade the Papal Chair. Men who, some of them at least, although the Papal Chair be not the vine of Noah, endeavour to imitate the sin of Cham.

It is something new and strange in one who has read the Prophets, the Apostles, the Word of Christ, and something of the Christian Fathers, and who professes the Christian name, to maintain that the Church has no right to expostulate with the world at large, whilst the world at large has a right to expostulate with the Church. 'The world at large,' continues Mr. Gladstone, 'on the contrary, has the fullest right to remonstrate, first, with his Holiness; secondly, with those who share his proceedings; thirdly, even with such as passively allow and accept them.'* This necessarily includes, first, the Pope; secondly, the Bishops; thirdly, the clergy and laity—the whole Church. The sum of this doctrine is, that the Church has lost its right to teach the world, and the world at large has gained the

right to teach the Church. When or how the world gained this new authority Mr. Gladstone does not say. What a descent from the *Church Principles* published by the same author in the year 1840!

We have here a specimen of that singular style that runs throughout the *Expostulation*. First, 'the world at large' has a right to remonstrate with the Church; then the world at large is brought nearer our senses in 'the people of this country, who fully believe in their loyalty,' that is, in the loyalty of the English Catholics; then the world and the English people are reduced to a rhetorical background for the one figure of Mr. Gladstone, who comes forward as representative of the world at large and the people of this country. 'I therefore,' he says, 'as one of the world at large, propose to expostulate in my turn.' 'The people of this country are fully entitled, on purely civil grounds, to expect from them' (the quiet-minded Catholics) 'some declaration or manifestation of opinion, to reply to that ecclesiastical party in their Church who have laid down in their name principles adverse to the purity of civil allegiance.' *

The Church is here divided into 'quiet minded Catholics' and 'a certain ecclesiastical party,' and the first is called upon to disclaim the second. These quiet-minded Catholics have been previously described as 'Catholics generally.' And 'of Roman Catholics generally, they' (that is, his offensive remarks in the *Contemporary*) 'say nothing.' Only he now calls upon them in an expostulatory tone to deliver some declaration against a certain ecclesiastical party. Who form

this party? He has already described it as consisting of his Holiness, the abettors of the Papal Chair, with such as passively allow and accept them; and that there may be no mistake either as to the Catholics whom he invites to rebel or the authority against which he would have them to rebel, he puts it all in plain terms four-and-twenty pages later, where he says: 'The Pope's Infallibility, when he speaks *ex cathedra* on faith and morals, has been declared, with the assent of the Bishops of the Roman Church, to be an article of faith binding on the conscience of every Christian. His claim to the obedience of his spiritual subjects has been declared in like manner without any practical limit or reserve; and his supremacy, without any reserve of civil rights, has been similarly affirmed to include everything which relates to the discipline and government of the Church throughout the world. And these doctrines we know, on the highest authority, it is of necessity for salvation to believe.'* Here is the ecclesiastical party, and here their principles, 'adverse to purity and integrity of allegiance,' against which 'quiet-minded Catholics' and 'Catholics at large' are invited by Mr. Gladstone to give forth some opinion. At his beck the nave is to rise up against the sanctuary, the Church taught to correct the Church teaching, the laity to instruct the Bishops and the Pope.

What does the author of the above passage mean when he tells us that the supremacy, including whatever relates to the discipline and government of the Church, 'makes no reserve of civil rights'? Is it intended to imply that civil rights form an element in

Church government? If they do, why should they be reserved? If they do not—and Catholics think they do not—how reserve them where they are not? In such Churches as those of England, Russia, and Prussia, Church government and discipline are suspended on the civil power; but Mr. Gladstone has himself shown in his *Church Principles* that the Church is a perfect society within itself, with all the means requisite for its own end and purpose. And the rights of an ecclesiastical society, as such, are in their nature exclusively ecclesiastical.

After travelling through a good deal of this kind of fog, we come to Mr. Gladstone's real object and precise intention. At page 22 he says: 'Far be it from me to make any Roman Catholic, except the great hierarchic power, and those who have egged it on, responsible for the portentous proceedings which we have witnessed. My conviction is that, even of those who may not shake off the yoke, multitudes will vindicate, at any rate, their loyalty at the expense of the consistency which, perhaps, in difficult matters of religion, few among us perfectly maintain.' The fog has parted, and Mr. Gladstone's mind comes out. He hopes to cause some Catholics to cast off the yoke of their faith, and multitudes of them to sacrifice their consistency. To encourage them, he gives them the comforting assurance that, in difficult matters of religion, few among us are perfectly consistent. Few are perfectly consistent in practice, but Mr. Gladstone invites us to be inconsistent with principle; and there with Catholics he must utterly fail.

This reminds me of something I recently heard

from a Protestant gentleman in a railway carriage. He had been in want, he said, of a good and quiet under-servant. Three young women applied for the place: one a Protestant, another a Methodist, the third a Catholic. Not satisfied with the tone of either of the others, he was inclined to engage the Catholic. But she refused to engage unless she could go to Mass every Sunday. Fearing the girl would be unprotected, as he lived at some distance from her church, he wrote to the priest, and received a reply to this effect: 'Unless the girl be faithful to God and her Church, you cannot expect her to be faithful in your service.' 'This,' said my informant, 'decided me, and raised the priest in my respect. I engaged her on condition that an uncle of hers should every Sunday see her safely to and from church.' Mr. Gladstone may depend upon it that he will never succeed in making Catholics loyal to the Queen by making them disloyal to the Church. We know all about that much better than he can, and he may safely take our word upon it.

It is an exercise to track our tempter along the serpentine course through which here and there he winds his approach, as if to puzzle and confuse our brain with his mesmeric passes before he puts his temptation unmistakably before us. One pass he gives, assuring Catholics at large that, if they do become inconsistent, it is just what other people do, throwing himself encouragingly into the 'us' by which he designates those people. He gives another soothing pass, commiserating the 'hardship brought upon them altogether by the conduct of the authorities of their

own Church.* Then, drawing a longer pass, he offers his reason to the Catholics at large as a security for assailing the teachers of their faith. 'If,' he says, 'I am told that he who animadverts upon these assaults or insults Roman Catholics at large, who do not choose their ecclesiastical rulers, and are not recognised as having any voice in the government of the Church, I cannot be bound by or accept a proposition which seems to me to be so little in accord with reason.† And so because, like their Anglican neighbors of Mr. Gladstone's communion, Catholics neither choose their ecclesiastical rulers nor have a voice in Church government, they are to take the great Protestant statesman's reason as warrant for resisting the teachers of their Church—not any special reason, but reason in the abstract.

Severe upon 'the present degradation of the episcopal order'‡ of the Latin Church, our expostulator is still more severe upon her 'converts.' Whether this severity is directed to all converts, or to some of them, or is intended to deter others from becoming converts, or whether, leaving the main body of them among the inoffensive 'Catholics at large,' it is the intention to direct this severity upon certain specific offenders, is left to our conjecture. Two converts are mentioned by name, and only two. Dr. Newman is mentioned with high commendation; Mr. Gladstone's old and intimate friend, the Archbishop of Westminster, is gravely reprovèd. To say the truth, the allegations of 'great breadth' and of 'broad and deep foundation' with which the great orator begins to expostulate

thin off as he proceeds, and terminate in two passages picked carefully out of the context of the Archbishop's numerous writings.

‘ Archbishop Manning,’ it is said, ‘ who is the head of the Papal Church in England, and whose ecclesiastical tone is supposed to be in closest accordance with that of his head-quarters, has not thought it too much to say that the civil order of all Christendom is the offspring of the Temporal Power, and has the Temporal Power for its keystone.’* Precisely so when there was a Christendom composed of Catholic States; and Guizot, the Protestant historian, as well as Haller and Hurter, show us how the Catholic Bishops, with the Popes at their head, formed the Catholic States of Europe and the civilization of Christendom. The ablest historians have likewise shown how, by general consent, the Popes became the moderators of that Christendom which, through the action of private judgment and free thinking in religion, has long ceased to exist. Then it was Christian light and law; now it is human ambition and contempt of covenants that settle, or more truly unsettle, the affairs of the world. That state of things, however, has long since passed away, and Pius IX. has said as much. As Mr. Gladstone has given but a portion of what his Holiness said on that subject, it will be fair to give the whole of it. I take it as published in the pastoral of the Swiss Bishops, commended by the Pope.

The words were addressed by his Holiness to a deputation of the Roman Academia, not on the 21st of

July 1873, as Mr. Gladstone states,* but on the 20th of that month 1871. The Pontiff exhorted that learned Society to refute with all possible care many falsifications of the sense of the Papal Infallibility. 'There are many errors regarding the Infallibility,' said the Pope, 'but the most malicious of all is that which includes in that dogma the right of deposing sovereigns, and declaring the people no longer bound by the obligation of fidelity. This right was, in fact, exercised by the Pope in extreme cases, but it has absolutely nothing in common with Papal Infallibility. It was a consequence of the public right then in force with the consent of Christian nations, who recognised in the Pope the supreme judge of Christendom, and constituted him judge of princes and peoples, even in temporal matters. But the present situation is altogether different. Bad faith alone could confound objects so different and times so unlike each other, as if an infallible judgment on revealed truth had any analogy with a right that Popes solicited by the desires of the people have exercised when the general good demanded it. Statements like these are but a pretext for stirring up princes against the Church.'

To thoroughly understand a declaration like this, or the similar one addressed by Pius VI. to the Irish Bishops, that has recently been quoted by a Catholic divine, it must be kept in mind that, according to the traditional teaching of Catholic divines from the days of St. Thomas Aquinas, the temporal power has its immediate derivation from the people. It was through

the consent of the people and the princes of Christendom that this supreme principle of international law prevailed, and the Coronation Oath, made to the Church, was based upon it. It is historically true that the Papal Power was in those times the keystone of Christendom.

The Archbishop again, says Mr. Gladstone, has affirmed that the spiritual power is supreme within its own limits, and can thereby fix the limits of all other jurisdictions.* But then the Archbishop expressly states that this supremacy is 'in matters of religion and conscience.' It is not for me to interpose between these two distinguished persons; but I should have thought that it was impossible for one power supreme in itself to fix its boundaries without fixing as a consequence the boundaries of whatever power came in contact with it, just as the fixing the boundaries of your own field fixes the boundaries of the field adjoining it; and that the kingdom of conscience, that kingdom of God within the man, settles the question as to how far any other power shall come, and where its powers must cease in its right to act. Mr. Gladstone has said this very thing, observing that 'there are millions upon millions of the Protestants of this country who would agree with Archbishop Manning if he were simply telling us that divine truth is not to be sought from the lips of the State, nor to be sacrificed at its command.'†

On a small scale we may exemplify what we mean from this Expostulation. Its author would seem to say to his Catholic fellow-countrymen: 'I am a man of

* Page 54.

† Page 55.

position, eloquence, and influence. Senates and nations listen to me; a powerful party obey my voice. The majority of our countrymen foster prejudices against you, both old and new, and my skilful words can heat them into a flame; your fortunes have been in my hands, and may be again. Either protest against your spiritual teachers, or abide my indignation.' Here is a civil power which, though not the royalty of England, nor at this moment its representative, is yet not lightly to be undervalued. The Catholics say: 'You have no right either to question or command our consciences. Must we obey you against our conscience, *or* God with our conscience? You confess that we are loyal, that loyalty is a part of our religion. Were we to denounce our spiritual teachers that would be disloyalty indeed; and whoever is disloyal to his conscience will be disloyal on temptation to his sovereign. Our fathers, rather than abandon their pastors, suffered much greater things than you can inflict. Your insidious advances we reject; the indignation with which, at the close of your Expostulation, you threaten us we can endure.' Here the spiritual power of conscience, in defining its own extent, defines the limits of Mr. Gladstone's power, and fears it not.

But 'the converts'! Their fellow-Catholics may be let off more easily; no stigma can be too ignominious for them. They renounce their 'mental and moral freedom;' they 'place their civil loyalty and duty at the mercy of another;' they have 'repudiated modern thought and ancient history.' Vague are these accusations; and, though not very generous, yet quite safe from their generality. It would never have done to

give examples and proofs. However, there is a decided disagreement between the converts and Mr. Gladstone ; for they say—and I have heard many of them—that they have gained a mental and moral freedom that they never knew before, have obtained a firmer footing for their loyalty, have a keener appreciation to distinguish between what is good and bad in modern thought, and a higher comprehension of the movement of God through ancient history. Whether their testimony or that of Mr. Gladstone should prevail must be left to the reader. I can only say that that of the converts is conscientiously given, and that not a few of them have distinguished themselves in the philosophic investigation of modern thought, in the cultivation of science and art, or in exploring ancient history. It would go hard with facts if they could be destroyed by declamation.

I have ventured to say already that Mr. Gladstone seems never to have thought deeply of the nature of mental and moral freedom. It is easy for a politician to confound civil with mental, political with moral, freedom ; but they are in character very different. Political and civil freedom are of an external more than of an internal nature. They are concerned in removing limits and restraints from speech and action, in diffusing political power and civil influence through the people, and in controlling as well as directing the civil government. By the very nature of mind and will, mental and moral liberty are of a different order. The object of the mind, what sets it free from its narrow egotism of thought, is truth. The object of the will, what sets it free, is moral good. Man is not made for himself,

but for a truth, and for a good of which truth is the bright reflection, and to which there is no limit. 'If the truth set you free,' says Truth in person, 'then are you truly free.' Put a man into a solitary cell; leave him in his isolation; let him be one of those who hold no converse with the spiritual world, and the question will be, how long must it be before his mind break down? Unless he turn to God, he has lost all freedom, civil, political, bodily, mental, and moral. In losing the two last he suffers from mental and moral inanition. Put a holy, enlightened Christian solitary in the same position. In his privation of bodily, social, and political liberty, which were all things to that first solitary, his mental and moral freedom still remain to him, his mind will soar in freedom unto unmeasured regions of truth, his heart will go forth in love unto unspeakable depths of good. The Catholic, even the convert, who makes his annual eight days of spiritual retirement, understands these things.

A man is bodily free in proportion to the extent of territory over which he can freely move. Had he the bird's privilege as well, to take to the air, he would be doubly free. So is it with the mind. It is free in proportion to the extent of certain and assured truth into which it can freely enter, over which it can freely move. The will, again, is morally free according to the extent and height and greatness of moral good that through a loving heart the will can securely embrace. In the very root and basis of the soul moves the appetite for truth, and the moral good that truth reflects and brightens. Only when drawn forth by this truth and moral good, which God presents, can he get out of the contracted

cell of his subjective nature, and advance towards this truth, especially that of God's magnificent revelation, and enter into the foretaste of that good which this revelation has made known. This movement, lower in the natural order, immeasurably higher in the supernatural order, constitutes the mental and moral freedom of man. 'If the truth shall set you free, then are you truly free.'

Whilst still moving hesitatingly through the shallows of doubt and of uncertain opinion no man is free. He is struggling through conjectures or following half lights towards that certainty of truth and peace in good which he hopes in time will make him free ; or he gives up the search and sinks back into indifference. The man who, intent on other thoughts, has lost his way and got benighted, is so far from mental freedom that he hesitates, doubts, conjectures, and frets ; but on regaining his path he recovers his freedom, and makes progress towards the good before him.

But against freedom of will, as of mind, stand the allied powers of sense ; their indulgence, and the passions they awaken, absorb and degrade both the moral and mental forces ; make the mind's light servile to the imagination, which, however God designed it to be the servant of truth and its illustrator, grows sordid from sensuality and inflammable from passion ; and thus evilly stimulated, it perverts from the truth and absorbs into error and evil the action of the will. Another condition of mental and moral freedom, therefore, is to keep the senses, their appetites, and the inflammable imagination down in order and subjection. Nor is this all ; deeper within the man is the pride that

exalts the subjective self over the truth and good for which the man was made. This false and deceptive self-exaltation draws the mind from truth, the will from law, and needs the curb of humility and obedience to the One True Good, whose authority, that it may be ever at hand for the exercise of these virtues, is set before our very senses in the human depositaries of His truth and law.

Wherefore, obedience to truth is mental freedom ; resistance to truth is the loss of liberty. Obedience to the authority through which God brings us the truth, and to the supreme law that marks the way towards truth, is moral liberty ; disobedience to that authority and law is the loss of moral freedom. In what lies the secret strength of obedience ? In that a more authoritative and stronger will than our own brings ours into action ; in that two wills combine to bring up the one that is oppressed with its egotism, authority and law being its security for right direction. Thus, by obedient habits, is the child trained to strength of will ; and thus, in the things of God, where man is yet a child, does the authority of the Church draw him up to the unchangeable regions of truth and divine good. This being so, and God having in His Church wonderfully provided the channels of light and grace in her Sacraments, of safety in her infallible teaching, and of self-denial, humility, and obedience, in her ministerial authority, it is obvious to any one who comprehends these principles that the Church is the true home of mental and moral freedom ; but far more obvious is it to those who hold practical possession of them within the Church herself.

And if the field of the mind hath received the whole compass of truth made known by God to man in its marvellous unity, then in contemplating that truth, article by article, doctrine by doctrine, each illuminating all, and all illuminating each, new beauties of truth incessantly spring upon the mind, to the delight, solace, and freedom of the contemplating spirit. But the Catholic religion holds possession of all the revealed truth,—added to all the natural truth that God has given to man,—whilst elsewhere it is broken into fragments and scattered in parts through numerous sects and divisions.

In like manner the supreme law shapes out with authority the boundaries between good and evil, and leads us in the direction of moral good ; and the obedient following of that law is the condition of moral freedom. But that man might not lose his way, be perplexed with doubts, or left to the hesitating and uncertain lights of his own judgment and opinion, where there should be certain faith and belief, Christ our Lord appointed an authority, to whom both the truth and the law were committed, to teach them with divine authority to the end of time ; and to hear and obey that authority in a spirit loyal to God's inward movements is to gain mental and moral freedom. That these are gained, and in a way contrasting wonderfully with their previous states of mind, all earnest converts bear witness.

To the Catholic Church, in his earlier days, Mr. Gladstone gave a magnificent testimony, a complete justification to her converts. In his *Church Principles* he carps, indeed, at many details, not so much of what

the Church really is and does, but of what he erroneously supposes her to be and to do. At last, however, he comes to the comparison of what is the strength of the Protestant and what of the Catholic Church.

‘Simple Protestantism,’ he says, ‘has a legitimate strength of its own; it is this, that it makes the access to the Holy Scriptures free for all the people, and it derives immense advantage in the controversy with Rome from the evident fairness of exposing to the general eye the authority for the truths to which the general assent of men is asked. We may estimate the amount of this advantage from the anxiety which has been shown by the advocates of Romanism, ever since it has been obliged to appeal to public discussion and opinion, to show that the Papal system is not opposed to the free circulation of the Scriptures among the people. . . . The free circulation of the Holy Bible, *while it is one occasion of the difficulties of the Church*, is likewise a chief cause of her strength.’ I have marked the passage in italics for further consideration.

‘Romanism, on the other hand,’ continues Mr. Gladstone, ‘has also a strength of its own; it is this, that it unflinchingly asserts the oneness, the supremacy, the permanency of the faith, and its independence of private opinion; and that it offers the ordinances of grace from hands to which the power of administering them has been committed, if there be truth in history, by the Apostles of our Lord, and asserts an authority and power of guidance which they transmitted. Thus, of these two hostile principles, the one triumphs by tendering the word which God inspired, the other by asserting the Church which the Redeemer established.’

It is singular that in the next paragraph Mr. Gladstone should affirm of these 'two hostile principles,' that 'they must be essentially at all times harmonious, while their antagonism is supposititious, and has no ground but in the depraved fancies of mankind.' *

Whilst the author of *Church Principles* allows that the free circulation of the Scriptures is 'one occasion of the difficulties of the (Protestant) Church,' he contends for uniting it with the principle of Church authority which he correctly portrays as the strength of the Catholic Church. There is but one way of uniting and harmonizing these two principles, and avoiding the 'difficulties,' and that is to keep the Scriptures under the Church's authority, and deliver that divine sense of them which the Church holds in her perpetual tradition. Then may she deliver the Holy Scriptures, as she habitually does, together with their sense, to all men of good-will.

Mr. Gladstone will perhaps allow me to exhibit this combination as it was understood by a probable ancestress of that New Zealander who is one day to sketch the ruins of St. Paul's. My old friend Bishop Pompallier, the first Catholic Bishop of New Zealand, made a convert of the daughter of a chieftain, and her name was Hoke. Having previously been a disciple of certain Protestant missionaries, they went to remonstrate with her, just as Mr. Gladstone expostulates with the English converts. Arrived in her presence, she sat in silence whilst they spoke, and said: 'Well, Hoke, we are surprised that you should join the Picopos (Catho-

* *Church Principles considered in their Results*, by W. E. Gladstone, chap. viii. p. 181.

lies), who will not give you the Holy Book.' On this theme they descanted; and when they had concluded, Hoke called for her books, and rising to speak, according to New Zealand etiquette, the missionaries in their turn sat down in silence. 'You missionaries,' she began, 'should speak truth. Here are the Holy Books. They teach me the creed—what I am to believe; they teach me the Sacraments—what I am to receive; they teach me the commandments—what I am to do. If I was blind, of what use would be the Holy Book? The Bishop came and spoke—his word went through my ear to my heart. He baptised me—my heart received the light of God. After he had baptised me, he gave me the Holy Book—with the light in my heart, and the Bishop's words, I saw the meaning of the Holy Book.' It was the light of Catholic faith that enabled this daughter of a cannibal race to harmonise the Church's authority with the use of the Scriptures.

To come back to Mr. Gladstone's sentiments in his *Church Principles*, could their author have given a sounder justification to the converts from his communion? He may say that since he described her strength the Church has changed. And it is not improbably among the motives of the Expostulation to free himself by this charge from what in that book he has written in commendation of the Church. But whether she has changed or not, not her accuser, but the Church herself, is the judge. She maintains that she has acted in the Vatican Council on her old principles, has drawn from her old deposit, and proclaimed her immemorial tradition, doctrine, and practice. And even the expositor, with whatever consistency, whenever it seems

to support his accusations, endeavours to show that her recent decrees are the outcome of her earlier history.

At the end of last session of Parliament the *Times* suggested that two parties were in want of a cry; and the old anti-Catholic cry was suggested. Mr. Gladstone has seized upon it, and has dressed up the old figure called Popery, that grotesque invention of the Protestant mind, in a new garb taken from the well-stored magazine of the Döllingerites. But this figure of Popery is no more like the Catholic religion than the idols recently brought to light at Troy are like Minerva. The Protestant people of this country, its new editor might think, were fond of the dear old romance, the property of their imagination from the nursery, and would welcome a little improvement of it. In this, however, there may have been some misconception; the great political name explains its wide circulation.

III. MR. GLADSTONE'S MISCONCEPTIONS.

COULD we get into the secret chambers of Mr. Gladstone's mind, and there examine his whole theory of the Catholic system, judging from the fragments of it exhibited, we should have an instructive example of what vivid imagination, working on the prejudices of education, can do in misshaping religious truth, and misjudging its professors. Could we discover a path through the haze and vague uncertainty of his language,—would some gracious sun shine out and disperse the Ossianic mists of his rhetoric, and bring us to see specific facts, persons, and precise charges with their proofs, we should

have something tangible to take hold of. But that will serve for a cry which is not sufficient for argument.

The title itself of the Expostulation involves a false assumption, and expresses the fundamental error of the book. *The Vatican decrees have no bearing on civil allegiance.*

The present writer is a competent witness that neither in the decrees themselves, nor in the discussions upon them, nor in the *schemata* discussed but not voted, nor in the *schemata* prepared but not discussed, nor in the *postulata*, nor in any private remark I ever heard from the members of the Council, was there ever a word uttered which either expressed or implied that any decree, whether passed or contemplated, bore the slightest reference to the civil power or to civil allegiance; and owing to the independent position I maintained towards all parties, to being the senior English Bishop present in the Council, to being an elected member of one of the principal congregations, to being the representative Bishop of his English brethren at the meetings of English-speaking Bishops for drawing up *postulata*, and to having the advantage of free converse with Bishops of all nations and modes of thought, I had special opportunities of knowing both what the Council contemplated and what its members thought.

Mr. Gladstone had my letter whilst the Council was yet sitting, and I believe another from the Bishop of Orleans, repelling every notion of an obtrusion by the Council into the civil sphere; but, what is decisive of the whole question, when susceptibilities were awakened by hostile diplomacy in the French Government, the reply sent by Cardinal Antonelli, as the Pope's Se-

cretary of State, completely disposed of the allegation. This State-paper, of date May 21, 1870, must have reached Mr. Gladstone's hands at the time, and have become well known to him. In that authoritative document the Cardinal says: "These canons attribute neither to the Church nor to the Pontiff direct and absolute power over the whole circle of political rights of which the despatch treats. . . . In fact, the Church has never intended, and does not now intend, to exercise a direct and absolute power over the political rights of the State. She has received from God the sublime mission of conducting men, whether regarded as individuals or associated in society, to a supernatural end; she has therefore, in virtue of this mission, the power, and is under the obligation of duty, to judge of the morality and of the justice of all acts, whether external or internal, in their relation to the natural and divine laws. Hence, since no act, whether prescribed by supreme power, or whether it emanates from the free action of the individual, can divest itself of this character of morality and of justice, it comes to pass that the judgment of the Church, though falling directly on the morality of the acts, indirectly embraces all those things with which this morality is allied.'

Here is the precise point of difference between Mr. Gladstone's view of the Church's action with respect to the civil sphere and that of the Church herself. Mr. Gladstone charges the Church and the Pope with claiming direct and absolute power in the civil sphere. The Church, who can alone know her own mind, says: No, nothing of the kind. Christ has given to His

Church the moral and the divine law, the authority to teach them, and the authority to judge the consciences of her children by them. But all the actions of man as Mr. Gladstone has beautifully described, involve God's law and man's conscience, even his external acts relating to civil duty and to material things. For instance, it is a civil duty to obey the civil power; it is likewise a duty of conscience, and, as such, the Church enforces it. But were the civil power to prohibit preaching in the name of Christ, as the authorities of Jerusalem forbade their Apostles to do, then they would receive the apostolic reply: "If it be just in the sight of God to hear you rather than God, judge ye." So to steal, to break into a house, to raise or co-operate in an unjust rebellion, or to plunder the Church, involve civil and temporal acts, but they likewise involve the conscience in sin; and the Church condemns them as infringements of the moral law of conscience. We have already seen how Mr. Gladstone himself asserts that 'there are millions upon millions of the Protestants of this country who will agree with Archbishop Manning, if he were simply telling us that divine truth is not to be sought from the lips of the State, nor to be sacrificed at its command.*' This is precisely what Cardinal Antonelli says; for divine truth includes the laws of morality and the rules of conscience. And the Archbishop would say, and has, in fact, said, the selfsame thing, and no more. Nor is it to be supposed that Mr. Gladstone has accepted the doctrine of the Hegelian philosophy, although Prince Bismarck has an-

nounced it in express terms, that the State is the supreme dictator of the conscience, and that the subjective conscience is bound to subject itself to the majesty of its objective laws.

Cardinal Antonelli goes on to explain: 'But this is not to mix herself up directly with political affairs, which, according to the order established by God, and according to the teaching of the Catholic Church herself, belong to the jurisdiction of the temporal power, without dependence on any other authority.'

It is impossible to put the contrary to Mr. Gladstone's assumption in clearer terms. The spiritual and temporal powers are next described by the Cardinal as distinct and separate, one from the other, the temporal having a subordination to the spiritual, as the human is subordinate in its end to the divine. 'It results from these principles,' his Eminence continues, 'that though the Infallibility of the Church embraces all that is necessary for the conservation of the integrity of *the faith*, yet no prejudice can spring therefrom to the claims of science, history, or politics. . . . The Church, in fact, while inculcating the principle to render to God the things that are God's, and to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, imposes at the same time on her children the obligation of a conscientious obedience to the authority of sovereigns.'*

When Mr. Gladstone says that Rome 'has refurbished and paraded anew every rusty tool she was fondly thought to have disused,' he refers to the Syllabus. The Catholic Church has changed within the last

forty years. The Catholic Church has not changed, but refurbished her rusty tools. These contrary propositions meet each other all through Mr. Gladstone's Expostulation. '*Semper eadem* is her boast.' *Semper eadem* she is not, *semper eadem* she is.

So far from the Syllabus consisting of rusty tools refurbished, so far from being extracted from ancient or mediæval documents, its propositions are collected from the most recent Papal announcements, and expressly bear on modern errors. So far from refurbishing rusty tools, whilst the Council was sitting, the Pope destroyed a great number of them. In his Constitution *Apostolicæ Sedis* of September 1869, promulgated in the Council, a vast number of old censures that had accumulated with time were utterly suppressed and abrogated. Of this fact Mr. Gladstone was well informed at the time, the representative of his Government at Rome having obtained a copy of it. The preamble of this Constitution is very instructive to those whose fancy it is to assert that Rome keeps her old weapons ready for use, regardless of the changes around her. It commences in these terms :

'It is befitting the moderation of the Apostolic See so to retain what has been established by the canons in a salutary way, that if, through change of times and circumstances, the need suggest itself that some things be altered and prudently dispensed with, the same Apostolic See should from its supreme authority provide a remedy. Wherefore, having long revolved in our mind that the ecclesiastical censures *latæ sententiæ*, and to be incurred *ipso facto*, decreed and promulgated throughout many ages, whether to protect the safety

and discipline of the Church, or to correct and amend the unbridled license of the wicked, have grown by degrees to a great number; and because the reasons and ends for which they were imposed exist no more, and they have ceased to be applicable or useful; and forasmuch as because of them doubts not unfrequently arise, and anxieties and distress of conscience, both in those who have care of souls and in the faithful; in our desire to remedy these inconveniences, we have commanded a complete revision of these censures to be made, and to be laid before us, that with careful deliberation we may determine and ordain which of them it is requisite to retain, and which of them it is befitting to modify or abrogate.'

Before passing to another chapter of Mr. Gladstone's misconceptions, I may as well point out the error of his argument to prove that conversions to the Church are diminishing. Whether in recent years they have or have not diminished I decline to say, though not from want of knowledge. He tells us that the rumoured increase of Catholics in England—and he speaks with respect to conversions—'would seem to be refuted by authentic figures;' and then the gradual decrease of Catholic marriages from 1859 to 1871 is given. But that decrease is explained from another cause than diminished conversions. A very large immigration of Catholics from Ireland took place in consequence of the terrible famine which desolated that country; whilst of late years that immigration has diminished, until it has almost ceased. But the stream of Irish emigration from England to America and Australia still flows on. For this reason one would expect the diminution of

Catholic marriages in England to be considerably more than it proves to be.

IV. MR. GLADSTONE'S 'INFALLIBILITY' AND THE POPE'S INFALLIBILITY.

MR. GLADSTONE'S 'infallibility' and the Pope's infallibility are two very different things. But before I draw the line between them, and show in what respects they differ, to clear the way before me I must remove one or two more of his misconceptions.

As one proof that 'Rome has substituted for the proud boast of *semper eadem* a policy of violence and change in faith,' Mr. Gladstone expostulates in these words: 'It is necessary for all who wish to understand what has been the amount of the wonderful change now consummated in the constitution of the Latin Church, and what is the present degradation of its episcopal order, to observe also the change, amounting to revolution, of form in the present, as compared with other conciliatory decrees. . . . When, in fact, we speak of the decrees of the Council of the Vatican, we use a phrase which will not bear examination. The canons of the Council of Trent were, at least, the real canons of a real Council; and the strain in which they are promulgated is this: *Hæc sacrosancta, ecumenica, et generalis Tridentina Synodus, in Spiritu Sancto legitime congregata, in ea præsidentibus eisdem tribus apostolicis Legatis, hortatur, or docet, or statuit, or decernit*, and the like; and its canons, as published in Rome, are "*canones et decreta sacrosancti ecumenici Concilii Tridentini*," and so forth. But what we have now to do with is the *Con-*

stitutio Dogmatica Prima de Ecclesia Christi, edita in sessione tertia of the Vatican Council. It is not a constitution made by the Council, but one promulgated in the Council. And who is it that legislates and decrees? It is *Pius Episcopus, Servus Servorum Dei*; and the seductive plural of his *docemus et declaramus* is simply the dignified "we" of royal declarations. The document is dated *Pontificatus nostri Anno XXV.*; and the humble share of the assembled Episcopate in the transaction is represented by *sacro approbante Concilio.**

There is such a conscious tone of having caught the Pope in an act of 'revolution,' of form at least, and the Episcopate in 'present degradation,' in this passage, such an unction, too, of conscious superiority over Rome, that, as a specimen of 'expostulation,' not a word of it could be spared the reader. Let us, then, use a little of that 'modern thought and ancient history,' which, whatever Mr. Gladstone may say, we have no intention of discarding, especially in the present case.

First be it observed, that in the course of eighteen centuries the Church must be expected to make many changes in disciplinary forms. Her whole history shows that she does so. Always the same in doctrine, although some doctrines may at one time be held implicitly, at another explicitly—always the same likewise in the fundamental principles of that discipline which springs from her divine constitution—in the application of its details the Church, as her history most clearly tells, knows how to vary according to circumstances and conditions, so that the spirit of her consti-

tution may be the more perfectly preserved. For law is like an arm, and form is a species of law. Its basis, the fundamental principles of right, is fixed unchangeably on the divine authority, as the upper arm is fixed unchangeably upon the body; whilst the hand, the changeable application, adapts itself in varied movements to the ever-varying objects and circumstances which it has to take hold of, yet always resting on one and the same unchanged basis, as change of law rests on unchangeable right.

The solution of Mr. Gladstone's difficulty is this. General Councils are held in one or the other of two distinct forms, and hence there are two distinct and different forms in which their decrees are drawn up and promulgated. Either the Pope presides by his Legates or he presides in person. When the Pope presides over a Council by his Legates, the decrees run in the name of the Council, and this authenticates them when presented to the Pope for his authoritative approval, enforcement, and promulgation. The earlier General Councils were held in the East, and were presided over by Papal Legates, and after their conclusion they were submitted to the Pope, who gave them authentic approbation and effect. The first over which the Popes presided in person were the first four General Councils of Lateran. Of the first three the decrees remain, but not the acts or forms. Of the First, in 1123, we have the bare decrees, without mention of the authority by which they were approved or promulgated. The Second, in 1139, under Innocent II., and the Third, in 1179, are drawn up in the form of Papal Constitutions with the formula *Sacro approbante Concilio*, precisely as in the

Vatican Council. The Fourth, in 1215, under Innocent III., runs likewise in the Pope's name. Mr. Gladstone, in a note, suggests that though some hold it to be so, this is not established. But, as given in Harduin, and as extracted in the authentic decretals of Gregory IX., there is the very style and even the terms that Mr. Gladstone reprobates as an innovation of Pius IX. and the Vatican Council. The decrees of the Fourth Council of Lateran begin with the words, 'Nos autem, *sacro-sancto et universali Concilio approbante.*' The decrees of the First General Council of Lyons, under Innocent IV., run obviously in the Pope's name, and such phrases as these occur in them: 'We therefore, confiding in the mercy of Almighty God, and in the authority of the Blessed Apostles Peter and Paul;' and 'We receive them into the protection of Blessed Peter and our own.' These terms belong exclusively to Papal documents. The delinquencies of Frederic IV. were discussed by the Council, but the constitution giving sentence is the Pope's, with the clause *sacro presente Concilio.*

The decrees of the Second General Council of Lyons, where the Greeks and Latins were united, are given in an apostolic constitution of Gregory X., who presided. In the General Council of Vienne there was but one decree, the judgment on the Templars. It was given in a constitution of the presiding Pontiff, Clement V. In the famous Council of Florence, where for the last time the Greeks and Latins were united, Pope Eugenius IV. presided, and the form observed is precisely that of the Vatican Council. The decree or 'definition,' as the decree of faith was called, is in the form of a Papal Constitution, which begins: *Eugenius Episcopus servus*

servorum Dei. It states at the outset that the Greek Emperor John Paleologus, the delegates of the Patriarchs, and representatives of the Eastern Bishop approved; it begins the definition of doctrine in words identical with the doctrinal constitutions of the Vatican: '*hoc sacro approbante universali Florentino Concilio definimus.*' After the signature of the Pope follow the signatures of all the Latin and Greek Prelates. It is evident that the Greeks raised no more objection to this form than the Latins, for their subscriptions prove the contrary.

The like forms are used in the Fifth Council of the Lateran, presided over by Leo X. I might have equally referred to the Council of Constance, after the election of Pope Martin V. had taken place in the Council. And although the mode of proceeding in that Council was really informal, inasmuch as its members voted by nations, a portion of its doctrinal decrees obtained force through the dogmatic constitution of Martin V.* The difference of style, then, between Trent and the Vatican is obviously based upon an invariable rule of the Church, and is no innovation of Pius IX.

It must not be forgotten that it was the Bishops in the Vatican Council who discussed and settled the terms of the two dogmatic constitutions, suppressing, adding to, and modifying the original drafts by their majorities. During the discussions the Pope was absent, and only present at the final votings. Every Bishop within the Council gave his *placet* or *non placet*, there

* For the whole of the facts and quotations in the above statement see Harduin's *Councils*.

being but two *non placets* uttered in defining the Infalibility. The Pope never opened his lips on the question before the Council until all discussion and voting was completed; he then gave the final judgment. All the Bishops, moreover, subscribed the constitution after the Pope, as defining, and their names are all printed as defining in the authentic edition of the Council.

It has commonly been considered a foolish thing to slay the slain; but I cannot help noticing Mr. Gladstone's instancing, as one token of change, that the canons of Trent 'are published in Rome as "*canones et decreta sacrosancti ecumenici Concilii Tridentini*," and so forth. But what we have now to do with is the *Constitutio Dogmatica Prima de Ecclesia Christi, edita in sessione tertia* of the Vatican Council.' Precisely so. But it so happens that my official copy of the Council of the Vatican has a similar title to that of Trent. The title is: *Acta et Decreta Sacrosancti Ecumenici Concilii Vaticani*. Mr. Gladstone has confounded the title of a constitution with the title of the entire Council; and if he will turn over the pages of his copy of the Council of Trent, he will there find a title resembling that which has given him so much offence. It stands as follows: *Bulla S. D. N. Pii Divina Providentia Papæ IV. super confirmatione æcumenici generalis Concilii Tridentini*. In that Bull are contained these words, without which the Council would be of no effect: 'With the counsel and consent of our brethren [the Cardinals], we this day have confirmed by Apostolic authority all and each [of the decrees and canons of the Council], and have decreed that they be received and observed by all the faithful.' So the Queen, and not the Parliament, makes

our laws; they run in the Queen's name, the Parliament consenting.

The expostulator may depend upon it that the Church is *semper eadem*. But it is curious to notice how the language of his accusation of change shifts about. First he tells us that within the days of his memory 'the constant, favourite, and imposing argument of Roman controversialists was the unbroken and absolute identity of belief of the Roman Church from the day of our Saviour until now. He then notes a sensible change in the present tenor of our literature 'during the last forty years.'* Secondly, he speaks of 'the deadly blows of 1854 and 1870' aimed at 'the old historic, scientific, and moderate school,' which 'surely was an act of violence.'† And in several other passages we are told that the evil claim of the Pope to Infallibility and unlimited obedience dates from 1870. But then in a note we are told that 'the gist of the evil we are dealing with consists in following (and enforcing) precedents from the age of Pope Innocent III.‡ That is, from 1215, which makes six centuries and a half. Then we are told, on the same authority, that 'the Popes had kept up, with comparative little intermission, for well-nigh a thousand years, their claim to dogmatic Infallibility; and had, at periods within the same tract of time, often enough made, and never retracted, that other claim which is theoretically less but practically larger—their claim to an obedience virtually universal from the baptised members of the Church.'§

* Page 13.

† Page 15.

‡ Page 33.

§ Page 28.

On the two very points on which Mr. Gladstone has raised all this clamor, and that on the express ground of violent and even revolutionary change, by his own admission, the Church has been substantially the same, as far as these Papal claims are concerned, for well-nigh a thousand years. Yet he complains, and invites Catholics to complain, that, by the decrees of 1870, 'the religion of a man has been changed for him, over his head, and without the very least of his participation.'* Well, the doctrines have not been changed, but defined by the Pontiff and the Episcopate—first by the Episcopate, as far as their judgment was concerned, and finally by the Pontiff—and they teach the unchangeable faith of the Catholic Church.

I will venture to quote an English author who by no means accords with the sentiment I have just quoted. 'Our Redeemer,' he says, 'as we are henceforward to assume, founded upon earth a visible and permanent society, cohering, and intended always to cohere, by means of a common profession of belief, but also of common and public ordinances, which by their outward form constituted and sealed the visible union of believers; while, by the inward spiritual grace attached to them, they were also destined to regenerate men in Christ, and to build them up in Him, and thus to constitute their inward and essential as well as their external oneness. Now there has been in practice the closest connection between the doctrines of a visible Church, and that of spiritual grace in the Sacraments,

and that of an Apostolical Succession in the ministry ; so that in general they have been received or rejected together.'

Then, after a few pages, speaking of the ordinances of the Church, the author says: 'Now it would be a supposition most repugnant to all antecedent probability, that the administration of such ordinances under such circumstances (that is, the having to cope with all the opposing forces of the unbelieving world, and yet more with all the bitterly, though more subtilely, hostile influences which the breast of every man professing allegiance to the Saviour supplies) would be committed to the members of the society at large ; and this for several reasons. First, because of the high and mysterious connection between their outward form and their substance, and of the blessings they convey, we should expect them in the hands of those whose function in life it is especially to know and to guard the treasures of Christianity. . . . Therefore their administration becomes a matter of government and discipline, and one, too, requiring the best—nay, indeed, much more than the best—discernment that is to be found among men for its right management ; from whence it seems to follow, that as different persons are adapted in various degrees for such an office, and as the mass are not at all fit for it, while the very best are but imperfectly capable of its discharge, it should be kept in the hands of a select body of persons, the most suitable that can be secured.'

And in another passage, speaking of succession from the Apostles, 'If there be a divine commission, not a figurative, but an actual, not a supposed, but an

attested commission involved in the true idea of the Christian ministry, then we have a way open for us naturally and readily to believe that the gifts and graces which belong to the author of that commission are indeed closely attached to its legitimate exercise. Then we have a full and adequate representation of the religious dispensation under which we live, as a system of powerful influences emanating altogether from God, and operating upon us as their necessitous recipients; and that relation between Him and ourselves, which we must correctly apprehend in order to perceive the adaptation of the Christian doctrines to their purposes, is rightly established in the ideas of His unbounded might and bounty on the one hand, and of our absolute weakness and need on the other—of Him as the universal Giver, and of us as receivers qualified by necessity alone.'

And soon after the author says: 'The argument from the commission to preach and instruct, and from the power of the keys, is nearly parallel, and is corroborative of that from the authority requisite for the right administration of Sacraments.'

It would be a very hard task to reconcile these beautiful passages with Mr. Gladstone's demand on the Catholic people to disclaim the teaching of the Apostolic See and the Episcopate, or with the complaint he makes of their acquiescing in the having their religion changed over their heads without their concurrence. But the author of these extracts is Mr. Gladstone.* No doubt he often contradicts his own *Church Principles* in the details of the very book from which they are

* *Church Principles*, chap. v.

quoted; but these are, or were, Mr. Gladstone's principles.

It is impossible to take up all the misconceptions contained in the sixty-six pages of the Expostulation, but there is a glaring one about *ex cathedrâ* definitions, where he says that 'there is no established or accepted definition of the phrase *ex cathedrâ*,' and that no one 'has power to obtain one, and no guide to direct choice among some twelve theories on the subject, which, it is said, are bandied to and fro among Roman theologians, except the despised and discarded agency of his private judgment.' * The whole of his argument rests upon the authority of—*it is said*. Doubtless, whilst agreeing in the main, theologians differed as to minor conditions of what was a true and complete definition of the term *ex cathedrâ* before it was dogmatically used and defined; yet they always agreed that it was the official act of the Pope teaching the Church. Mr. Gladstone asks for an 'accepted definition,' and the Council has given him one. It was before his eyes in the decree of Infallibility he had just quoted. No sooner does the Church in Council introduce the term *ex cathedrâ* than she gives its authentic definition, and, what is more, its very terms are taken word for word from the dogmatic decree of the Council of Florence, which was signed by both Greeks and Latins. The definition is in these terms: 'When he (the Pope) speaks *ex cathedrâ*—that is to say, when discharging the office of Pastor and Doctor of all Christians, by virtue of his supreme Apostolic authority—he defines a doctrine regarding faith or morals.'

There was a time when Mr. Gladstone had no difficulty in his own judgment of defining what is *ex cathedrâ*. In 1840, in his *Church Principles*, after quoting Gregory XVI.'s condemnation of indifferentism as maintained by the unhappy De la Mennais, he says: 'And this the Pope promulgated *ex cathedrâ*, as being infallibly decided by his voice, and as being obligatory upon all the children of the Church to receive.'* Four-and-thirty years ago Mr. Gladstone understood the term *ex cathedrâ*, and could even apply it to Papal documents where both the term *definimus* and the term *anathema* are wanting. He could even think at that period that it 'became obligatory on all the children of the Church to receive it'; that is, the Papal condemnation. Why, then, should he first be shocked in 1874 that the Council should define in 1870 what he believed in 1840 was the Catholic doctrine of Papal Infallibility and obedience to the Pope?

And now let us approach the Council itself. The Expostulation goes to suggest that the Council was convened mainly with a view of defining the Infallibility, and that the definition itself was brought about, chiefly for political objects, through the action of the Pontiff and 'a dominant party.' A falser notion could not be entertained. I have the official catalogue before me of the *schemata* prepared by the theologians for discussion in the Council. In them the Infallibility is not even mentioned; far the greater part of them regard ecclesiastical discipline. Through mundane revolutions such vast changes had taken place in the condition of

* *Church Principles*, chap. viii. n. 46.

the Church and its affairs since the Council of Trent, that in a very large portion of the Church many of the laws of discipline enacted three hundred years ago had ceased to be applicable, and new enactments were imperatively required. In discussing these, a not inconsiderable progress had been made when calamitous events suspended the Council. The whole doctrinal *schema* respecting the Church and the Papal primacy was presented to the Council, and discussed without there being a word respecting the Papal Infallibility in the programme. For although that point had been prepared by the theologians, representing not merely Rome, but all the principal Churches, before the Council began it was decided not to introduce it. Accordingly, the *schema* on the Church and the Papacy appeared without it. What, then, gave subsequent rise to the introduction of the doctrine of the Infallibility? The chief moving cause was the incessant attacks made upon the Council, originating with the unsound German professors. They assumed, even before the Council sat, that the Infallibility was to be carried, and that by some stratagem issuing in acclamation of the doctrine; their attacks were reverberated from other quarters, and the world was full of them; whilst the Bishops, absorbed in the Council, could not reply. The very fear which these men showed at the thought of the Infallibility, their loud denial of its being an article of Catholic doctrine and tradition, and the way in which, with all the say to themselves, they managed to establish an influence, raised the question to one of supreme practical gravity.

Many of the Bishops began to reflect, and to communicate their reflections one to another. It was ob-

served how much these men, some of whose other doctrines had been already corrected at Rome, were in fear of the Infallibility. Their positive denial of it was noted, and their spurious defence of the opposite doctrine. If this was not repelled, it would go far towards establishing the impression that the doctrine was not definable; the result would be, that men like the writers in the *Augsburg Gazette*, notwithstanding the traditional teaching of the Church, and the canonical practice of all times that involved the Papal Infallibility, would resist or disown the doctrinal decisions of the Pontiff whenever brought against them. The consequence would be that the authority of the Pontiff definitively to settle controversies of doctrine, which the Church had ever acknowledged and acted upon, would be set at naught by a party within the Church, and between Council and Council there would be no authority recognized by them that could with irresistible vigour put down new errors against faith or moral doctrine. There was precisely that justification for action which Mr. Gladstone ascribes to the definitions of the earlier Church. 'The justification,' he says, 'of the ancient definitions of the Church, which have endured the storms of fifteen hundred years, was to be found in this—that they were not arbitrary or wilful, but that they wholly sprang from, and related to, theories rampant at the time, and regarded as menacing to Christian belief. Even the canons of the Council of Trent have in the main this amount, apart from their matter, of presumptive warrant.' *

Besides the motives already assigned, to borrow Mr.

Gladstone's words again, 'the levity of the destructive speculations so widely current, and the notable hardihood of the anti-Christian writing of to-day,' * as it appeared to many Bishops, rendered it all the more important that the Pope should be armed with that full strength with which Christ had invested Peter and his successors, to confirm his brethren in the truth, and to smite with irreversible judgment the false doctrines that might lift up their pride within the Church. For these reasons many Bishops united in a postulation that the question of Papal Infallibility might be brought into the Council; and accordingly it was introduced. Once introduced, there could be no doubt of the decision; for even those Prelates who argued against its opportuneness, with the exception of three or four, maintained the doctrine. I have already declared that no political motive, or notion of giving political dominion to the Pope, ever entered the minds of those to whom we owe the definition.

It remains to consider the meaning and extent of the Infallibility: first, as it is viewed through the prejudices of Mr. Gladstone; secondly, as it is understood and defined, and so limited, by the Council. Mr. Gladstone says, that 'the reach of the Infallibility is as wide as it may please the Pope, or those who prompt the Pope, to make it.'† This he asserts on the ground that the sense of the limiting term *ex cathedrâ* is undefined. But we have shown that the Council itself defined the term. He likewise asserts that the office formerly claimed by the Church was 'principally that of a witness to facts,' but that now, especially within

the last forty years, the claim is 'principally that of a judge, if not a revealer, of doctrine.' And then we have it asserted that in the earlier claim 'the processes were subject to a constant challenge to history, . . . maintaining the truth and power of history, and the inestimable value of the historic spirit.' But, 'in the second, no amount of historical testimony can avail against the unmeasured power of development.'*

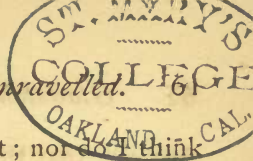
This is the intellectual basis of Dr. Döllinger's party as exhibited in their manifesto, the book entitled *Janus*; in which book the whole of Mr. Gladstone's arguments may be found, with all their heresy. That book, written previously in the shape of articles in the *Augsburg Gazette*, and that before the definition, has since become their plea for rejecting the Council. Let Mr. Gladstone read the reply to it in the *Anti-Janus* of Dr. Hergenröther, and, if his mind be candid, he will see how far an appeal to history upon foregone conclusions respecting doctrine will carry men away from historic truth. The old Protestant principle of private judgment, as against the teaching authority of the Church, was the appeal to Scripture. The new principle of private judgment of Dr. Döllinger and his party, as against her authority, is the appeal to history. This is precisely that spirit of historical criticism that I denounced in my Pastoral.

The assertion that until recent times the Church acted as witness, not as judge, of doctrine, presents us with a most singular example of modern thought arrayed against ancient history. What were the decrees

and the canons, the anathemas and the excommunications pronounced against heresies and heresiarchs, of all the ancient Councils, and of so many of the older Popes, but doctrinal judgments?

Then as to the charge of substituting unmeasured development for the testimony of history. The Church witnesses to two sources of evidence before she pronounces upon her own doctrine. The first is the actual existing belief of the Catholic world; the second is the tradition come down through the ages from the beginning. The full testimony of the actual living Church was within the Vatican Council in the voice of her Bishops, representing every clime and nation; and for the tradition of the past, never was history so thoroughly searched before, and that on both sides of the question, in dissertations written by 158 of the Fathers for the use of the Council; in discussions prolonged until history and argument were absolutely exhausted; and in a flood of pamphlets circulated among the Fathers. The constitution in which the Infallibility is defined cites decisions of the Second Council of Lyons and that of Florence, in both of which the doctrine had already been virtually defined by the Greeks and Latins united. It also quoted the Fourth Council of Constantinople of 869. But this by no means represents the evidence brought forward in discussion from much earlier Councils and Fathers, and from the Sacred Scriptures. Indeed, it may be safely said, that to an unprejudiced eye the evidence of the Sacred Writings is much stronger and more persuasive for the Infallibility of Peter's successor than for that of the Episcopate. On this subject there was no call what-

Gladstone's Expostulation Unravell'd.



soever for the principle of development ; nor do I think it was once mentioned.

Mr. Gladstone is fond of putting his statements in the shape of questions, and he asks : ' Will it be said that the Infallibility of the Pope accrues only when he speaks *ex cathedrâ* ? ' * This question insinuates the contrary. But the Council strictly limits the Infallibility to *ex cathedrâ* decisions ; and the objector ought to understand that such documents are of strict interpretation, and that no one has a right to affirm that more is contained in the decree than is expressed. Again, it is asked : ' Will it be said that the Infallibility only touches faith and morals ? Only matters of morals ! ' † And here, by way of illustrating the extent of morals, Mr. Gladstone very correctly describes our human life as involving duty at every step, as if the Pope pursued every man throughout his life, pronouncing *ex cathedrâ* judgments upon all his acts. He confounds judgment upon moral doctrine with judgment upon moral acts, and by this confusion of ideas contrives to bring all human life under the prerogative of Infallibility. No wonder that, after this monstrous widening of the sphere of Infallibility, he is enabled to hurl so many figures of rhetoric against, not the Pope's Infallibility, but his own invention. Such, then, are Mr. Gladstone's misconceptions of the Papal Infallibility. How completely it illustrates Dr. Newman's well-known remark, that ' true testimony is unequal to the Protestant view ' !

It remains to see what the Infallibility as defined by the Council truly is, and what it truly is not. Let me

first say, that the Church is not responsible for either doctrines or their applications as given by those who, even though members of the Church, are not her authorised teachers, in whatever shape they may appear. Nor is it fair to pick out the *obiter dicta* of competent writers and exhibit them as Catholic doctrine. The only way of fair dealing is to take the formal expositions of competent authorities when expressly directed to explain an article of faith. So we take the legal expositions of judges, so the evidence of experts.

Before giving the definition of the Infallibility, it will be expedient to observe that the whole chapter in which it is contained underwent considerable alteration from the Bishops as the result of their discussions. For example, the original title of the chapter was *De Romani Pontificis Infallibili Auctoritate*. But the word *auctoritate* was altered to *magisterio*, with the express intention of marking that the infallible authority was limited to *teaching*. For greater convenience I give the definition in an English version of it as follows:

‘The Sacred Council approving, we teach and define that it is a dogma divinely revealed, that the Roman Pontiff, when he speaks *ex cathedrâ*—that is, when, in discharge of the office of Pastor and Doctor of all Christians, by virtue of his supreme Apostolic authority, he defines a doctrine regarding faith or morals to be held by the Universal Church, by the divine assistance promised to him in blessed Peter—is possessed of that Infallibility with which the divine Redeemer willed that His Church should be endowed for defining doctrine

regarding faith or morals; and that therefore such definitions of the Roman Pontiff are irreformable of themselves, and not from the consent of the Church. But if any one—which may God avert—presume to contradict this our definition, let him be anathema.'

As an objection has been raised in the *Times* that there is no canon and no anathema attached to the definition, it may be well to observe, first, that definitions of doctrine are not always put in the form of canons, although they were so in the Council of Trent; secondly, that the clause *docemus et divinitus revelatum dogma esse definimus* begins the definition; thirdly, that the definition does conclude with the *anathema sit* against all who presume to contradict this definition, which is the equivalent of a canon. The definition strictly limits the Infallibility to doctrine of faith and of morals, and that only when the Pope is exercising his Apostolic authority in teaching all Christians from the Apostolic Chair. Mr. Gladstone confounds throughout his pamphlet moral conduct with moral doctrine; but the Infallibility is expressly limited in the text to doctrine of faith and doctrine of morals, or moral doctrine, which, in fact, is of the elements of faith as well as of ethics.

'The reach of the Infallibility is as wide,' says Mr. Gladstone, 'as it may please the Pope, or those who prompt the Pope, to make it.'* And he even questions whether it may not enable the Pope to proclaim new revelations. This shows that he has never carefully studied the text of the definitions, nor the exposition

of its sense delivered in the preamble. In that exposition it is expressly stated that 'the Holy Spirit was not promised to the successors of Peter, that by revelation they might make known new doctrine, but that by His assistance they might inviolably keep and faithfully expound the revelation or deposit of faith delivered through the Apostles.' This, then, is another limitation to the Infallibility, that it is *not by revelation* nor does it extend to new doctrines, but is, *by assistance* of the Holy Ghost, to keep *the deposit of faith delivered from the beginning*.

In another passage of the preliminary exposition it is shown that the Pope employs all wise and judicious precautions in taking the testimony of the Church to any doctrine before defining it. 'The Roman Pontiffs,' it says, 'according to the exigencies of time and circumstances, sometimes assembling Œcumenical Councils, or asking for the mind of the Church scattered throughout the world, sometimes by particular Synods sometimes by using other helps which Divine Providence supplied, have defined as to be held those things which, with the help of God, they had recognised as conformable to the Scriptures and Apostolic traditions. This brief narrative of the measures taken by the Popes securely to obtain the sense of the Church before pronouncing a doctrinal judgment was inserted into the decree as one of the results of discussion in the Council.

The distinction between the false Infallibility, as Mr. Gladstone has been taught to view it, and the true Infallibility held by the Church, has been admirably expressed by the late learned and lamented Père

Gratry. Misled like others as to what the Council really intended, he wrote against the definition ; but before he died the actual decree reached his hands, and he wrote, in his retractation :

‘ I combated an *inspired* Infallibility ; the Council’s decree *rejects* inspired Infallibility. I combated a *personal* Infallibility ; the decree gives but an *official* Infallibility. Writers of a school I thought excessive were undesirous of a limitation to Infallibility *ex cathedrâ* as being too narrow ; and the decree but gives Infallibility *ex cathedrâ*. I almost feared a *scientific* Infallibility, a *political* and *governmental* Infallibility ; and the decree gives but *doctrinal* Infallibility in matter of faith and morals.’*

A more authoritative exposition of the limits of Papal Infallibility was given in the joint Pastoral of the Swiss Bishops in the year following that of the Council, which received the commendation of the Pope himself, and in which is contained the following passage : ‘ It cannot be said that the Roman Pontiff is personally infallible, in the sense that each of his affirmations is infallible, and that it depends but on his personal views to impose faith in new dogmas upon the faithful. The Pope is neither infallible as a man, nor as a scholar, nor as a priest, nor as a bishop, nor as a temporal prince, nor as a judge, nor as a legislator. He is neither infallible nor incapable of sin in his life and conduct, in his political views, in his relations with princes, nor even in the government of the Church ; but he is solely and exclusively infallible when, in his quality of

* *Correspondant* of 25th February 1872.

supreme Doctor of the Church, he pronounces a decision in matter of faith or morals that ought to be accepted and held as obligatory by all the people.'

I might give extracts in the same sense from the most valuable work of the late Bishop Fessler, the learned Secretary-General to the Council, for which he received a congratulatory Brief from the Sovereign Pontiff. But as the work itself, entitled the *True and False Infallibility of the Popes*, will speedily appear in an English translation, I refrain from doing so. Having disposed of half the ground of Mr. Gladstone's Expostulation, I proceed to dispose of the other half.

V. MR. GLADSTONE'S 'OBEDIENCE' AND THE CHURCH'S OBEDIENCE.

IF in his exaggeration of the Pope's Infallibility Mr. Gladstone exceeds all bounds, in his amplification of the extent of ecclesiastical obedience he becomes absolutely wild. I have only room for a brief statement of his misconceptions; I hope the reader will examine his text from page 37 to page 45 of the octavo edition.

'The sounding name of Infallibility,' he says, 'has so fascinated the public mind, and riveted it on the fourth chapter of the constitution *De Ecclesia*, that its near neighbour, the third chapter, has, at least in my opinion, received very much less than justice.*' Then is given the text of the decree, which I shall put in English. 'The pastors and faithful of whatsoever rite and dignity, each one individually as well as all taken together, are bound to the duty of hierarchical subor-

* Pp. 37-8.

dination and to true obedience, not only in those things that belong to faith and morals, but likewise in those that belong to the discipline and government of the Church spread throughout the world. . . . This is a doctrine of Catholic truth, from which no one can deviate with secure faith and salvation. . . . We therefore teach and declare that he (the Pope) is the supreme judge of the faithful, and that in all causes belonging to ecclesiastical jurisdiction recourse can be had to his judgment ; but the judgment of the Apostolic See can by no one be reversed. Nor is it lawful for any one to judge his judgment.'

Upon this Mr. Gladstone comments in these terms : ' Even, therefore, where the judgments of the Pope do not present the credentials of Infallibility they are unappealable and irreversible ; no person may pass judgment upon them, and all men, clerical and lay, dispersedly or in the aggregate, are bound truly to obey them ; and from this rule of Catholic truth no man can depart save at the peril of his salvation.' *

This is strange blundering in the interpretation of law from a practised legislator. If with the whole context of the law before his eyes he can draw such conclusions, what can we expect when the same writer comes to the Syllabus, consisting as it does of short sentences taken out of their ample context ? He has confounded the point of doctrine with the point of law ; and that peril to salvation which in the text of the decree is exclusively attached to the doctrine he has attached to the law resulting out of the doctrine. The

first paragraph of the decree asserts that the members and whole body of the Church, whether pastors or flock, are held together in hierarchical order by the principle of obedience, of obedience not only to the doctrines of faith and morals, but obedience likewise to the regulations of Church government and discipline. It is this principle of obedience to the Church, not that other practical obedience to Papal judgments, which is declared to be '*a doctrine of Catholic truth, from which no one can deviate with secure faith and salvation.*' Mr. Gladstone has extended this clause into the second paragraph, where it is not to be found, and which is upon the distinct subject of the Pope's judgments in cases appealed to his Supreme Court, to which, as being a totally different subject, not referring to faith, but to legal decisions, it does not apply. Yet upon this egregious blunder of his own making has Mr. Gladstone raised his most vehement and declamatory accusations. He speaks likewise with horror of the Papal ecclesiastical judgments for being '*unappealable and irreversible ; no person may pass judgment upon them.*' Precisely so. So it is, and so it must be, in every judicial system, where there are inferior tribunals and one supreme tribunal and last court of appeal. No one can reverse its decision, no one can judge its judgment ; all must obey it, and that under pain of contumacy. It is the same in the civil as in the ecclesiastical system of judicature—there is always a high court of final appeal whose decisions are '*unappealable and irreversible ; no person may pass judgment upon them.*' All, of whatever class or degree, '*must obey them.*' In the Anglican Establishment the same rule prevails. As

the Queen is head of the Anglican Church, the final appeal in causes ecclesiastical is to the Queen in Council. All Anglican churchmen and laymen are bound to obey the decision, which is 'unappealable and irreversible;' no person can rejudge that judgment. Why? Because the theory of the law is, that the Queen takes the place formerly held by the Pope.

But it does not follow from the terms of the decree of the Vatican Council that there are no intermediate courts, such as those of the local Bishop, next that of the Archbishop or Metropolitan; nor does it follow that the Pope may not reverse his own judgment, which is not at all unusual, where the defeated party brings proof of error or new matter that could not be before adduced. I have a letter before me of the late Cardinal Prefect of Propaganda, in a case where I had acted as apostolic delegate, in which his Eminence says: 'Nothing is more usual to the Holy See than to reverse its judgments on proof of error.' The whole of the second clause most plainly refers to appeals from the local and inferior courts to the Supreme Court in matters ecclesiastical.

In his very authoritative book on Diocesan Synods, the most learned Pope Benedict XIV. points out, from the provisions of the common law, that in issuing rescripts and mandates the Popes may sometimes be deceived by false informations or by suppressions of truth; in which case they are far from complaining if the executors of such documents suspend their action until the Pontiff is informed, who willingly rectifies what is amiss. Moreover, whenever a Pontifical law or mandate may, in the judgment of the local authority,

have an injurious effect in some province or diocese, the Bishop can and ought to make this known to the Holy See, and the Pope is ever ready to receive such representations, and to make exceptional provisions wherever they are shown to be needed.* In short, the government of the Church, like that of all sound governments, is guided by common sense. A discipline and government such as Mr. Gladstone imagines for us could not exist.

That the principle of obedience to the authority of the Church is a point of faith and condition of salvation is nothing new. It was taught by its Divine Founder when He said: 'If thy brother shall offend against thee, go and rebuke him between thee and him alone. If he shall hear thee, thou shalt gain thy brother; and if he will not hear thee, take with thee one or two more, that in the mouth of two or three witnesses every word may stand. And if he will not hear them, tell the Church; and if he will not hear the Church, let him be to thee as the heathen and publican.'† Here disobedience to the Church, even in matters of ordinary life, is plainly put under anathema, or separation from salvation. St. Paul likewise says: 'Obey your prelates, and be subject to them. For they watch as being to render an account of your souls.'‡ What, then, has the Council done but repeat the doctrine of Holy Scripture?

After he has stuffed the decree of the Council with his own misconceptions and mental confusion, Mr. Gladstone lets his ideas run away with him into a wild-

* *De Synodo Diœcesano*, l. ix. c. 8.

† Matt. xviii. 14-17.

‡ Heb. xiii. 17.

ness of fancy, a very romance of misconstruction, that is fairly astonishing. The principle of ecclesiastical obedience is made to extend over all civil power and civil actions. 'Individual servitude,' he says, 'however abject, will not satisfy the party now dominant in the Latin Church; the State must also be a slave.'* This sentence is a specimen of the shiftiness that runs through the whole production. The author allows that the decree was approved by 'a council œcumenical in the Roman sense;'† and here he limits the satisfaction derived from it to 'a dominant party.' How by this decree is the State made 'a slave'? It does not even touch the State. Mr. Gladstone quotes in proof of his assertion what he calls 'the pregnant words on the point.' They are these: 'Not only in those things that belong to faith and morals, but likewise in those that belong to the discipline and government of the Church spread throughout the world.'

These, then, are the limits set to that obedience whose principle is pronounced to be a matter of faith. It includes, first, obedience to doctrines of faith; secondly, to moral doctrine; thirdly, to Church discipline; fourthly to Church government. Here, I repeat, is the limitation set by the Council to that obedience the principle of which is declared to be of faith. Let us now see to what Mr. Gladstone extends it. 'Absolute obedience, it is boldly declared, is due to the Pope, at the peril of salvation, not alone in faith and morals, but in all things which concern the discipline and go-

* Page 40.

† Page 42.

vernment of the Church.' The words 'absolute' and 'boldly' are Mr. Gladstone's additions. And what is 'at the peril of salvation' in the text is the doctrine, not the obedience. Now for the wild romance. 'Thus,' says Mr. Gladstone, 'are swept into the Papal net whole multitudes of facts, whole systems of governments, prevailing, though in different degrees, in every country of the world. Even in the United States, where the severance between Church and State is supposed to be complete, a long catalogue might be drawn up of subjects belonging to the domain and competency of the State, but also undeniably affecting the government of the Church; such as, by way of example, marriage, burial, education, prison discipline, blasphemy, poor-relief, incorporation, mortmain, religious endowments, vows of celibacy and obedience. In Europe the circle is far wider, the points of contact and interlacing innumerable. But on all matters respecting which any Pope may think proper to declare that they concern faith or morals, or the government or discipline of the Church, he claims, with the approval of a council undoubtedly œcumenical in the Roman sense, the absolute obedience, at the peril of salvation, of every member of his communion.'

Except in points of defined doctrine, whether of truth or moral principle, all the rest, in so far as salvation is concerned, is not in the decree of the Council, but is a huge addition of Mr. Gladstone's. For, I repeat once more, the doctrine of obedience is declared of faith under peril of salvation, but the exercise of obedience is simply declared to be obligatory. There is no doubt but that contumacious disobedience against

authority is of peril to salvation. Contumacy strikes at the very root of authority, whether of God or man ; and no society, under whatever government, can tolerate it, but ever treats it among the gravest crimes. Only at this point the Council does not touch directly, it only speaks of the obedience of subjects to superiors as of binding force.

Of the matters which Mr. Gladstone has 'swept into the Papal net,' the Council says nothing ; and he cannot but know that whilst some of them—vows, for example—are of a purely spiritual nature, others—for example, poor-relief—are of a purely temporal nature ; whilst others of them have both a spiritual and a civil element, in which what is of conscience and religion belongs to the Church, and what is of civil regulation belongs to the State.

Nothing is more clearly expressed in the traditions of the Church than the distinction between the spiritual and civil powers ; but when a nation and its government is Catholic, they are both presumed to have Catholic consciences, as in England, when, for a thousand years, the Catholic religion was part and parcel of the common law. Church and State become mutually supporting, and whilst the civil power, as such, is left to its free force, all that is of conscience, or, to use the words of Boniface VIII., explaining the Bull *Unam Sanctam* in a Council, 'what regards sin,' is of the authority of the Church. This principle explains a considerable portion of the Syllabus. Thus it is that the Church touches civil actions on the side of conscience, as previously explained. But in concluding that part of his subject the expostulator seems to ques-

tion the right of the Church to have any independent authority, and reclaims against the notion that the Church has the right to know her own powers, for to know is to define them.*

Mr. Gladstone shall answer Mr. Gladstone. In his *Church Principles* he says: 'No mere sameness of tenets therefore, is sufficient for the perpetuity of the Church Association, of whatever kind, necessarily and obviously implies much more than a mere aggregation of units and the action of an association implies, in like manner much more than the concurrence of a majority of mere aggregation of units. Wherever there is combination, there is something over and above the sum total of individual agencies; there is joint action, and that joint action requires law and an organ. That law is usually a constitution, and that organ a government. The former may be in the breast of the latter. The latter may, where the purposes of the association are both limited and definite to the last degree, be superseded by the former; but in every other case, and the exceptions are so trifling and equivocal that we may well say in every case, where there is a society there must be a government, a centre of life, a power acting on its behalf, and also controlling and commanding the movements of its individual members, so far as they are liable to be modified by the laws and purposes of the body.' And, again: 'How wonderful is the idea of the Christian Church! A power appointed to cope with all the opposing forces of the unbelieving world and yet more with all the bitterly, though more subtly

hostile influences which the breast of every man professing allegiance to the Saviour supplies. What moral contradiction so violent and absurd, until we supply in this description the idea of a divine power, working in and under appointed instruments.' *

I may be told that the author of these sentiments publicly renounced his own book in Parliament, but this will not destroy the intrinsic force of his argumentation.

VI. MR. GLADSTONE'S 'SYLLABUS' AND THE POPE'S SYLLABUS.

'It seems,' says the expostulator, 'not as yet to have been thought wise to pledge the Council in terms to the Syllabus and the Encyclical. That achievement probably reserved for some one of its sittings yet to come.' This is in the expostulatory style, based not on facts, but on a dream of imagination. I need not point out from where it comes to any one who has read *Fanus*. Does Mr. Gladstone fancy that the eighty distinct propositions, on as many subjects, a good many of them complicated, most of them demanding an acute application of theological or canonical science for finding out their precise bearing and their exact contradictions, could ever be discussed and settled in 'some one sitting' of the Council? This is to insinuate that the Pope commands and the Council obeys. Does Mr. Gladstone remember how many months it took to discuss and settle the decrees that have been the object of his misinterpretations? I can only say, that the notion of introducing the Syllabus into the Council was never

* *Church Principles*, chap. v. n. 6, 7, 9.

heard of except from the writers in the *Augsburg Gazette* and their copyists. The Papal documents from which they are extracted were promulgated by the Bishops throughout the Church, and the condemnation embodied from them in the Syllabus were condemned by the Bishops in their joint and spontaneous address to the Pope. What more do they require to give them every kind of force? Are they to be turned into dogmas of faith? This is evidently Mr. Gladstone's notion as it is that of the school of *Janus*. But the propositions of the Syllabus are far from all of them capable of being pronounced heretical; and to imagine this is to misconstrue the nature of the censure attached to them.

The Syllabus is entitled *A Collection embracing the principal Errors of our Age, as noted in the Consistorial Allocutions, Encyclics, and other Apostolical Letters of Pius IX.* The letter of Cardinal Antonelli simply authenticates them. They are simply called *errors*. We must go to the original documents for any specific censures, but there we shall likewise find the exact limit of their sense. Error is a term that includes an extended scale and gradation of censures, and to understand their nature we cannot do better than consult the prefatory 'Instruction to the Index of prohibited Books.' 'The things to be corrected,' it says, 'are propositions that are heretical, or erroneous, or savouring of heresy, or scandalous, or offensive to pious ears, or schismatical, or seditious, or blasphemous.' These are the several terms of censure, any one of which may be included under the comprehensive word *error*. Then a censure may fall upon a single clause, phrase

or word, and not upon the entire sentence. Amongst the objects of censure are especially marked in the 'Instruction' 'the things that savour of Paganism,' and such as, drawn from pagan sentiments, morals, and examples, foster political tyranny, which is falsely called *state reason*, and is abhorrent from the Evangelical and Christian law.' Again, 'such as are against the liberty, immunity, or jurisdiction of the Church.' Likewise 'lascivious or obscene writing that corrupts good morals.' These points pretty well embrace the whole syllabus.

Yet even with these helps, and such as these, how is Mr. Gladstone to construe the sense of the Syllabus? It is tolerably clear that he makes every proposition to be a universal negation, and its censure to be that of heresy, and that the condemnation bears in all cases upon every part of each proposition. It is the propensity of ignorance to generalise whatever comes from an unacceptable source, and to distort its meaning out of the proportions of truth; and on Catholic subjects Mr. Gladstone is very ignorant. He ought to understand that Papal constitutions and censures, like law, diplomacy, and other professional sciences, are full of technical terms and refined distinctions, comprehended only by the initiated; that they are addressed to Bishops who have the science of interpreting them; and that nothing can be more presumptuous than for one who, so far from having the requisite science, is not even a Catholic, to attempt to instruct the world, above all, to teach Catholics on such a subject, and to expostulate with them on what he plainly shows he does not himself understand.

Were Mr. Gladstone a Catholic well acquainted with his Catechism, he would still require, as the least preparation before handling the Syllabus, a course of study such as follows: first, a year of scholastic philosophy, to understand the school-terms and their use and application; secondly, a three-years' course of dogmatic and moral theology, in both cases under a competent master; thirdly, he might then take up such book as the *Theses Damnatae* of Dominic Viva. After this preparation the merely elementary knowledge will have been gained for expounding the Syllabus, provided its propositions are examined with due sagacity in their original contexts, with due attention to the historic facts to which they are individually addressed and to the time, the place, the persons, and the circumstances.

Grave warnings have been given us of the danger of attempting to construe the Syllabus without the requisite science. The *Journal des Débats* attempted it in part, and the Bishop of Orleans convicted the writer of more than seventy errors.* Mr. Gladstone attempted to render eighteen of the eighty propositions into English, and an able theologian in the *Month* found that twelve of them were either strained or presented in a sense foreign to their meaning.†

So much has been well written on the Syllabus, that I shall confine my attention to one or two of its easiest propositions, such as scarcely require the science I have

* *La Convention du 15 Septembre et l'Encyclique du 8 Decembre*, by the Bishop of Orleans.

† The *Month* for December, 1874.

spoken of to understand them; nor shall I do more than simply replace the propositions in their context. But this will be sufficient to exhibit the difference between Mr. Gladstone's Syllabus and the Pope's Syllabus.

I select the 80th and last proposition as one of those which has been subject to the widest misconstruction, has been made the most hostile use of against the Church, and, nevertheless, with its context, presents the most complete refutation, not merely of the unjustifiable sense attached to it, but to that which has been attached to other propositions of the Syllabus. Mr. Gladstone renders it in these words: 'Or that the Roman Pontiff ought to come to terms with progress, liberalism, and modern civilisation.'* The original is: 'That the Roman Pontiff *can* and ought to *reconcile* himself and come to terms with progress, with liberalism, and with recent civilisation.' The question before us is, whether this is a condemnation of progress, liberty, and modern civilisation absolutely and without distinction, or only of evils and abuses that go under that name. Englishmen, with insular pride, are apt to measure all things by what exists in England, and to think the Pope is always aiming his censure at them; whereas—to understand the Pope's Allocution of March 18th, 1861, from which the proposition is taken—they must consider the then state of things on the Continent, and the style in which evil men cloaked under popular names—such as liberty, civilisation, and progress—doctrines and deeds which in England would never be tolerated.

The Pope says in his Allocution *Jamdudum cernimus* :

‘ Long have we been the witness of the agitation into which civil society is thrown, especially at this time, through the lamentable conflict of antagonistic principles, between error and truth, between virtue and vice, between light and darkness. For certain men, on the one side, contend for *what they call modern civilisation* ; others, on the contrary, strive for the rights of justice and of our holy religion. They first demand that *the Roman Pontiff should reconcile himself and come to terms with WHAT THEY CALL progress, with liberalism, and with recent civilization.*’ But others with reason reclaim that the immovable and unchangeable principles of eternal justice be kept in their integrity and inviolability, and that the salutary force of our divine religion be completely preserved. . . . But the patrons of *modern civilisation* will not admit of any such distinction, even though they declare that they are the true and sincere friends of religion. Willingly would we give faith to them, were it not that the melancholy facts which are this day before the eyes of all men prove absolutely the contrary. . . . Among these facts, no one is ignorant how solemn Concordats, regularly concluded between the Apostolic See and various sovereign princes, have been utterly abolished, as recently occurred at Naples. Against which act, in this august assembly, we again and again complain, venerable brethren, and loudly reclaim in like manner, as on other occasions we have protested against like attempts and violations.

‘ But whilst *this modern civilisation* fosters every anti-

Catholic worship, and by no means keeps back infidels from public employments, nor closes the Catholic schools against their sons, it is irritated against religious orders, against institutions founded to teach Catholic schools, and against numerous ecclesiastics of every grade, even those who are clothed with the highest dignity, of whom not a few drag on an uncertain life in miserable exile or imprisonment, and even against distinguished laymen, who, devoted to us and this Holy See, courageously defend the cause of religion and justice. Whilst it grants pecuniary assistance to anti-Catholic institutions and persons, *this civilisation* despoils the Catholic Church of her most lawful possessions, and puts forth every effort to lower the salutary influence of the Church. Moreover, whilst it gives entire liberty to all discourses and writings that attack the Church and those who from the heart are devoted to her, whilst it stirs up, fosters, and favours such license, at the same time it is exceedingly cautious and moderate in repressing the attacks, sometimes violent and excessive, employed against those who publish excellent works, whilst it punishes the authors of these works, if they pass the bounds of moderation in the least degree, with the utmost severity.

‘Can the Roman Pontiff ever extend a hand to *this kind of civilisation*, or cordially enter into alliance and agreement with it? *Let their real names be restored to things, and this Holy See will be ever consistent with itself. For truly has it always been the patron and nurse of real civilisation*; the monuments of history bear witness and prove that in all ages from this Holy See have gone forth, even into the most remote and barba-

rous nations, right and true humanity, moral culture, and wisdom. But if *under the name of civilisation* is to be understood a system devised to weaken, and perhaps even to destroy, the Church—no, never can the Holy See and the Roman Pontiff *come to terms with such a civilisation.*'

The Pope goes on to narrate how, in return for his paternal concessions, *this civilisation* spattered his Council Chamber with the blood of his minister; how it stripped the Holy See of its territories, and, amidst all its infamies, still called upon the Pontiff to reconcile himself with *this modern civilisation*. 'Willingly,' says the Pontiff, 'do we pray for these persons, that by the help of divine grace they may repent. But in the mean while we cannot remain passive, as if we had no care for human calamities. . . . If unjust concessions are asked of us, we cannot consent to them. But if pardon be asked for them, freely and promptly shall we be prepared to give it.'

From one example learn all. Here is the text from which the 80th proposition of the Syllabus is extracted, and from its Apostolic author we learn its true sense. Mr. Gladstone declaims on the Pope's condemnation of all modern civilisation. Ironically the Pope uses the word from the mouth of the Church's adversaries, until he comes to true civilisation, and then he embraces and exalts it. But *this civilisation* with which the Pope is asked to be reconciled is a civilisation and a liberty that breaks down solemn agreements with the Holy See, and that, without ever consulting the other party to the contract, breaks concordats, and puts an end to them, renouncing the entire obligation of the

solemn compact. This, by natural, divine, international, and even English law, is a great crime.

It is to Italy in 1861 that the Allocution refers, to a country in which the Catholic Church had full possession through the faith of its people ; and *this modern civilisation* advances infidels into confidence and power, to the scandal of the people ; does everything in its power to suppress the Church of the people ; rises against the religious orders and the educational institutions ; exiles and imprisons the Bishops ; gives every license to speech and the press against religion, but severely represses whatever is earnestly written in its defence. Its liberalism, even in its royal personages and ministers of State, does not 'keep faith with princes.' And its *progress* moves strongly in the opposite direction to that loyalty to sovereigns about which Mr. Gladstone is so solicitous, when it murdered the Pope's lay Minister of State, revolted and raised insurrection against his throne, as well as half a dozen more ; and put a number of innocent priests to death in cold blood. Little birds have even told us how Mr. Gladstone gave a helping pen, and how his liberal friends used the name, the influence, and even the ships of England to give an impulse to the progress of *this civilisation*.

The Index, as we have seen, points to heathen maxims and practices fostering political tyranny, *falsely* called *state reasons*, and abhorrent to Christian freedom, as an object of censure. This brings me to the second proposition I have selected from the Syllabus, as being an ample refutation of the whole of Mr. Gladstone's position. That proposition is the 63d, which condemns

the error that 'it is lawful to refuse obedience to lawful princes, and even to rebel against them.' Under the general term of lawful princes the style of Roman documents includes all heads of constituted governments, not only kings, but presidents of republics. For this 63d proposition we are referred to four Papal documents. The first of them is the very first Encyclical of Pius IX., of November 1846, in which his Holiness says to the Bishops of the Church: 'Strive to inculcate into the Christian people due obedience and subjection to princes and (temporal) powers, teaching them according to the admonition of the Apostle, that "there is no power but from God; and those that are, are ordained of God. Therefore he that resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God.'" Wherefore the precept to obey the power cannot by any one be violated without sin, unless perchance that be commanded which is against the law of God and the Church.'

The second document referred to for condemnation of the proposition in question is the Allocution of Pius IX. of October 1847. After treating of the restoration of the Latin Patriarch in Jerusalem, his Holiness says: 'And here, venerable brethren, we openly and loudly declare that in this affair, as in all others, all our cares, thoughts, and efforts, completely estranged from human policy, tend but to one thing—that the most holy religion and doctrine of Christ may shine forth more and more, unto all the nations of the earth. For although we desire that princes to whom the Lord hath given power, closing their ears to deceitful and pernicious counsels, may keep the law of justice, and walking according to the will of God, may

protect the rights and liberty of Holy Church, and from religious duty, as well as humanity, may labour for the happiness and prosperity of their people ; nevertheless we are most keenly afflicted that in various places men are to be met with among the people who, rashly abusing our name and inflicting grievous injury on our person and supreme dignity, dare to refuse due subjection to their princes, to stir up multitudes against them, and to promote criminal disturbances. So far is this from our thoughts, that in our Encyclical Letter, addressed last year to our venerable brothers the Bishops, we failed not to inculcate obedience to the princes and powers, from which, according to the precept of the Christian law, no one can deviate without sin, unless what is commanded be against the law of God and the Church.'

The third document referred to in the 63d error of the Syllabus is the Encyclical Letter of Pius IX. of September 8th, 1849, after his return to Rome from his exile in Gaeta. After speaking of the mischievous doctrines and deeds of the Communists and Socialists, the Pope says: ' Let the faithful intrusted to your care be admonished that it belongs to the very nature of human society that all should obey the authority that is lawfully constituted within it ; nor can anything be changed in the commands of the Lord which are declared on this subject in the Sacred Scriptures, for it is written : " Be ye subject to every human creature for God's sake ; whether it be to the king as excelling, or to governors as sent by him for the punishment of evil-doers and for the praise of the good ; for so is the will of God, that by doing well you may put to silence the ignorance of

foolish men ; as free, and not as making liberty a cloak for malice, but as the servants of God." And again : " Let every soul be subject to the higher powers, for there is no power but from God ; and those that are, are ordained of God. Therefore he that resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God, and they that resist purchase to themselves damnation."

' Let them likewise know that it is equally a natural, and therefore an unchangeable, condition of human things, that even among those who are not in high authority, some by reason of different qualities of mind, or body, or of wealth, or of other external advantages, prevail above others ; nor *under any pretence of liberty or equality* can it ever become lawful to invade the goods or rights of another, or in any way to violate them. Clear also are the divine precepts on this subject, and extant in various places of Sacred Scripture, in which we are not only prohibited from taking, but from desiring, the possessions of another.'

Let this suffice. Mr. Gladstone's principal charge is, that whilst the Catholics of England are loyal, the Pope with his abettors uphold principles that are subversive of loyalty, and the Syllabus is his main proof. Let him read and be ashamed.

To sum up the Syllabus : some of its propositions defend natural human reason against its detractors, others defend Creation against Pantheism, others defend Christianity against Rationalism, others defend natural and Christian ethics against immoral theories. Some defend Christian faith against Latitudinarianism and Indifferentism ; not a few of the propositions are defensive of the Church and of the prerogatives of the

Holy See against the Church's assailants; others of them maintain the rights of the civil power to the duty and allegiance of its subjects; others, again, the right of Christians to Christian marriage and Christian education; whilst others of these propositions condemn that revolutionary and rebellious spirit which under false names strike at all real freedom, progress, and true civilisation.

VII. AN APOSTROPHE TO MR. GLADSTONE.

RIGHT Honourable Sir,—Responding to the call you have made upon all English Catholics to give you the expression of their sentiments on the charges you have brought against their Pontiff and their holy religion, I have the honour to offer you mine. Though but one of a million for whose voices you have called, and although I can scarcely understand why you exclude the other five millions within the British Isles, I claim the right to be considered the representative of at least one-tenth of that million. If in defending Catholic truth and loyalty against your pen I seem in some defensive strokes to put in the sharp edge of controversy, your courtesy will rightly ascribe it to the keenness of your assault. The temper of the assailant brings out in reverberation the temperament of the defendant, as the strings of one instrument set in motion awaken the chords of another, though in tones more subdued.

After ages of cruel persecution, the Catholics of this country were living in peace and content, loving their Church and Pontiff, loving their Queen and country, and your political efforts in their favour had contributed

to their peace, when, to our sudden amazement, and with no slight shock to our gratitude, we found our religious principles, in their bearing on our civil allegiance, called with vehemence into question by your eloquent, but this time misguided, pen. In your Expostulation, you call upon us to disclaim doctrines and principles of conduct that neither in the mind of our ecclesiastical superiors nor our own have any existence; and that upon allegations that, short of absolute proof, we have every reason to believe were prompted by a factious party, once our brethren in faith, but now engaged in assaulting and ungenerously reviling that supreme authority of God's Church which was once their rock of security. Even should we be mistaken in ascribing the violence of your attack to the personal influence of those misguided men, there can be no mistake in tracing the materials you have used to the book in which they have drawn up their false indictment.

It is the privilege of those who have been wronged to complain; and when the wrong comes from one to whom they have habitually looked for right, the breath of complaint comes from those deeper sources of emotion that touch upon the verge of indignation. Nothing inflicts pain like the breaking down of trust, especially where no reason has been shown for the change. When the Bishops of Ireland opposed the scheme of mixed university education, they stood equally upon their religious principles, their constitutional right, and experience of the evils of mixed education. That which you proffered to them as a boon, they discovered to be an evil. What was there in this, although it proved the occasion of breaking up a Ministry inclining to its

fall, to justify an unprovoked attack upon the Pope and the Catholics of England, not on the ground of the university scheme; but on the totally different plea of a disloyalty which, you yourself admit, does not exist among us?

At a time when every Christian force is needed to check the advance of unchristian, infidel, and atheistic invasions upon the peace and happiness of mankind, to draw up a severe accusation against the head of the greatest Christian community—accusation on matters that the accused look upon as criminal; to rest that accusation not upon proof, but on conjecture; to colour it and to heighten it with all the arts of rhetoric; to subscribe it with a great and influential name, and then, knowing the effect it must produce of inflaming prejudice and enkindling strife, to flood the country and the world at large with 100,000 copies of it, is what we did not expect, and could not beforehand have believed. It is not as if the Protestant population of the country had any true knowledge by which to judge what the Catholic religion is, or what are its principles and practices. They have had nothing of it in their minds for centuries but a grotesque caricature, to which your Expostulation corresponds.

Wheresoever prejudice, bigotry, and hatred of the Catholic religion and its professors prevail, there, as your correspondence will have proved, you have added flame to fire. Can this be justified on any party, political, or human motive? Is it a deed that has met the approval of the nobler-minded men of this country or of the press, or of the more prudent and abler men of your party? Unless it be the intention to strike your

roots into lower strata in search of a new party, what is there to explain this downward course?

The venerable Pontiff whom we love so well, what has he done that you should strike at him? Why should you, who profess Christianity, join the throng of scorners who buffet the Apostle of Christ? By what word, by what deed, has he done injury to any mortal being, except, according to his divine commission, to warn men from error and exhort them to the truth, except to turn their way from evil and draw it unto good? For long years he has been a spectacle of the righteous man suffering, to the world, to angels, and to men. Suffering is undoubtedly the allotted portion of prophets, apostles, and saints, yet no less undoubtedly are men the inflictors of that suffering. Faith broken with him by half the powers of the world, stripped of the patrimony that protected the freedom of his predecessors for more than a thousand years, he sees the strength of the world and much of its thought combined against him. His Bishops are persecuted and imprisoned, their clergy and the members of the religious orders are scattered and dispersed by violence, leaving devoted Christian populations without pastors or Sacraments. Yet you, Right Honourable Sir, who once carried your energies in defence of the imprisoned as far as the South of Italy, profess not to understand the merits of that unprovoked persecution in Germany that rivals, and in malignity surpasses, the persecution of Christianity by the Roman Cæsars.

Is it possible that a man of large mind and political experience like your own can imagine, still less can gravely state to the world, that this same Pontiff.

amidst his sufferings and solitude, can be plotting a dangerous combination of physical forces, expecting therewith to reëstablish an order of things which, through the injustice of men, God has permitted to depart? A Pope seated on a terrestrial throne, 're-erected on the ashes of a city amidst the whitening bones of the people,' is a combination of images such as Mr. Gladstone may contemplate with artistic enjoyment, but from the very notion of which a Pope would turn with horror.

Prussia has been long habituated to chastise its people with stick and cane, and that a minister of that country should strike a man when he is down is not so very surprising. But that an Englishman, and that Englishman Mr. Gladstone, should strike a man when he is down, and that a man of the highest and most venerable dignity, stricken already with years, stripped of strength, his place contracted from a kingdom to a virtual prison; in his sorrows and solitude to strike such a man, and that with foul blows, is what honourable men would not have believed, had you not given them the proofs of it.

Be not surprised that an act like this should draw from us no other response than a just indignation. One good, however, beyond intention you have done. By compelling the Catholics of this country to give a closer consideration to the Apostolic acts of their Pontiff than they had hitherto done, they have learned to appreciate him the more.

